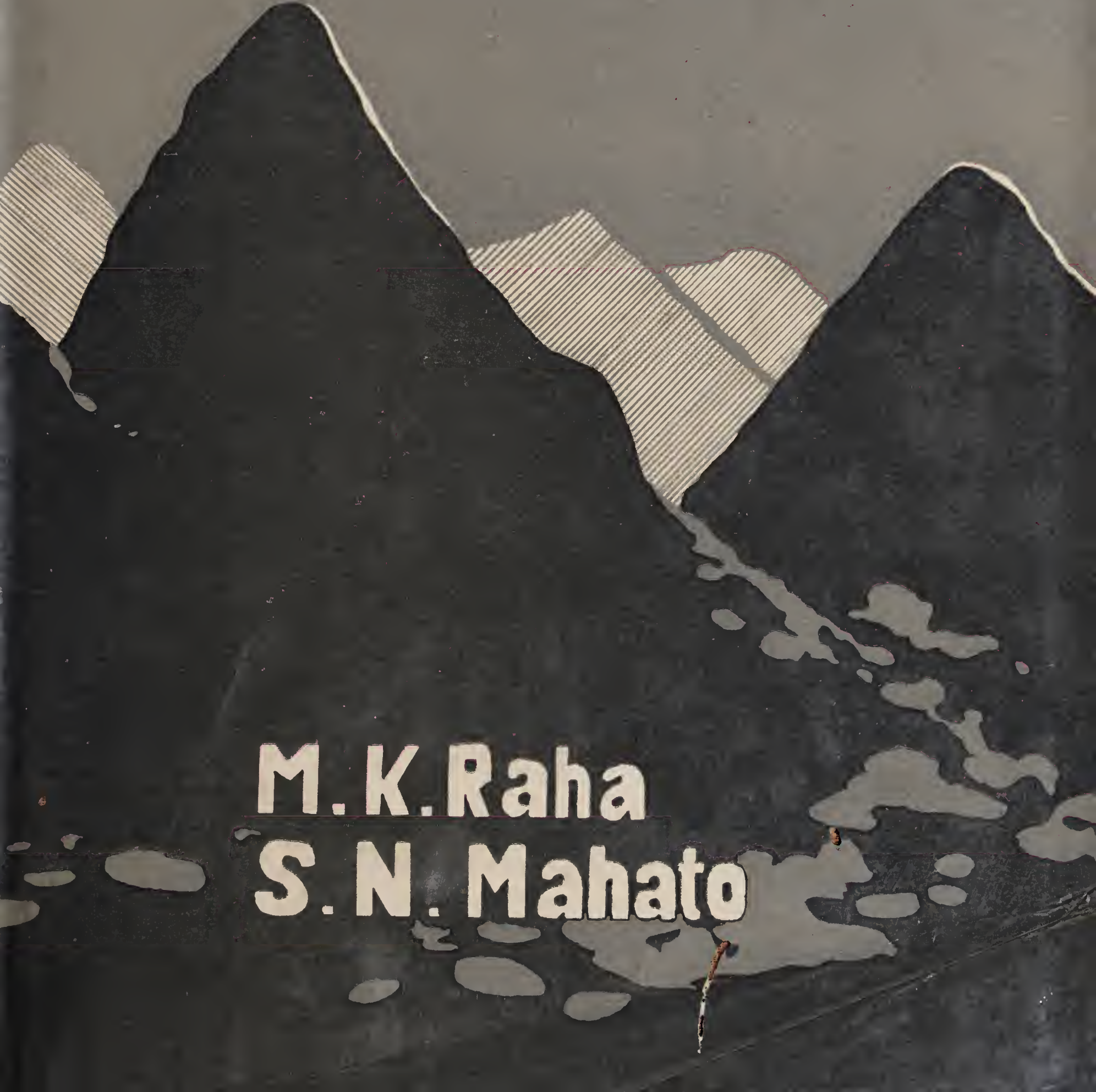


The Kinnaurese of The Himalayas



**M. K. Raha
S. N. Mahato**



THE KINNAURESE OF THE HIMALAYAS

THE KINNAURESE OF THE HIMALAYAS

MANIS KUMAR RAHA
AND
SATYA NARAYAN MAHATO



ANTHROPOLOGICAL SURVEY OF INDIA
DEPARTMENT OF CULTURE
GOVERNMENT OF INDIA
27 Jawaharlal Nehru Road
Calcutta-700 016.

MEMOIR NO. 63

Published by
The Director
Anthropological Survey of India
27 Jawaharlal Nehru Road
Calcutta-700 016.


Published in November 1985

Printed by
N. Lahiri
Loyal Art Press Private Limited
164 Lenin Sarani
Calcutta-700 013

Price : Rs. £ \$

Without the expressed permission from the Director, Anthropological Survey of India no portion including figures, etc. of this publication can be reproduced partily or wholly.

Dedicated
To our respectable teachers



Digitized by the Internet Archive
in 2018 with funding from
Public.Resource.Org

FOREWORD

Shortly after its inauguration in September 1969, the North-West Regional Office of the Anthropological Survey of India was entrusted with a research project, 'Ethnography and Culture Change' in the Himalayan region. Initially three communities from the Central and Western Himalayas, viz., the Bodh of Ladakh (Jammu and Kashmir), the Bhotia of Uttarkashi, Chamoli and Pithoragarh (Uttar Pradesh), and the Kinnaurese of Kinnaur (Himachal Pradesh) were chosen for study. Dr. M. K. Raha and Shri S. N. Mahato, authors of the present volume, were assigned the responsibility to undertake research work among the Kinnaurese of Himachal Pradesh under the said project. Later on in 1972, the Anthropological Survey of India launched a broad-based project, 'The Himalayan Border Area Studies' encompassing the entire stretch of the Himalayan border. The earlier said project, for operational advantage, was merged with the newly designed one and Dr. Raha and Shri Mahato continued their field investigation among the people of Kinnaur district of Himachal Pradesh.

The objectives of this project were broadly (i) to examine the nature of ecological adaptation to the Himalayan environment, (ii) to understand socio-cultural implications of being located between major nations and civilizations, (iii) to monitor trends of socio-economic changes since independence, and (iv) to study variations of cultures between three different eco-zones and altitudes of the Great Himalayas.

Dr. Raha and Shri Mahato undertook their intensive field investigation in three different eco-zones of the district in phases between 1970 to 1972 and the present account is the outcome of that study.

Information on communities inhabiting high altitudes is by and large scarce. Necessity for such information is even more intensely felt in India as the entire stretch of the Himalayan heights within the Indian territory is occupied by a multitude of discrete populations about whom very little is practically known. The present study thus will fill up the information gap to a major extent, particularly from Himachal Pradesh.

Anthropological Survey of India
October 31, 1985.

Ajit K. Danda
Director

ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

We take the opportunity to express the deep sense of our gratitude in a few words to various persons for whose assistance and help this research project on the Kinnaurese has become a success.

We take this opportunity to express our indebtedness to Dr. A. K. Danda, Director and Dr. N. C. Choudhury, *ex-Deputy Director*, for their constant and able guidance, advice and encouragement. We also express our deep sense of gratitude to Dr. S. C. Sinha, formerly Vice-Chancellor, Visva-Bharati University for his very valued counsel and advice while he was our Director. We are also grateful to Dr. R. S. Negi, the then Regional Officer and also all our colleagues in the North Western Regional Office, Dehra Dun for thier constant encouragement. We are particularly indebted to Dr. Negi who all along helped us in all possible ways and extended constant encouragement and advice, to Sri M. N. Kaul, Statistician (Retd.) for his guidance in statistical work, to Sri J. C. Das, Assistant Anthropologist and Dr. Jitendra Singh, Assistant Anthropologist for some tabulation work, to Sri S. C. Mandal, R. A. for his labour in checking the typed copies, to Sri G. L. Nitware for drawings, to Sri Ramji Gupta, Human Ecologist for the preparation of maps (not included in this book), to Sri Inder Deo Uniyal for library work, to Km. Mala Mukherjee, Sri L. M. Dhyani and Sri Shakeer Ahmed for taking the strains in typing the manuscript of this report.

We express our indebtedness to Dr. R. S. Mann, Deputy Director, Sri S. S. Sastry, Anthropologist, Dr. B. R. Rizvi, Anthropologist and Dr. Ramesh Chandra, Anthropologist for their valued suggestoins and criticism, to Sri P. R. Das of Headquarters, Calcutta for the excellent photographs and Sri B. M. Gowsami for printing of book. We acknowledge our debt to those State Government Officials of Himachal Pradesh and also the district authorities of Kinnaur who rendered all possible help and assistance in undertaking our research work. We owe our indebtedness to Sri T. S. Negi, M. L. A. from Kinnaur for enlightening us with his valued suggestions. Thanks also to many others but for whose advice and help this work would not have been done.

Last but not the least, with a deep sense of gratitude, we remember all the inhabitants of Kinnaur who did not hesitate to pay all their loving attention to our personal comfort, to co-operate with us very sympathetically all through our stay in Kinnaur and to render ungrudging help to us to collect our field data.

M. K. R.
S. N. M.

contents

Introduction : problem and method	...	...	1
Setting : land and people	...	...	9
Economic structure and change	...	...	71
Social structure and change	...	...	133
Political structure and change	...	...	271
Religious structure and change	...	...	293
Continuity and change : structural and cultural		...	339
Appendices	...	...	347
Bibliography	...	...	361

INTRODUCTION : PROBLEM & METHOD

INTRODUCTION

The Human Societies in the High

Himalayas were in isolation from time immemorial. The Great Himalayan Ranges which have roughly fenced India's north-western, northern and north-eastern borders, had taken in the lap too many human beings and guarded them from the touch of the outsiders for centuries.

All these populations belong to various ethnic groups. Ancient Indian literature and mythologies refer to various ethnic groups such as the Apsara, the Yaksa, the Raksasa, the Gandharva, the Kinnaur, the Dasa, the Khasa, and many others who were believed to have affinities and link with some divine races, to be the inhabitants of the Himalayas. They were said to live in different parts of this mountain.

The Himalayas even now-a-days can be called as the abode of numerous ethnic groups. From Jammu and Kashmir to Arunachal Pradesh (NEFA), throughout the Himalayan ranges we meet with different types of people with varied cultures and activities. While there are nomadic pastorals who move with their livestock from one area to another throughout the year, others are settled in the villages. While some practise terraced cultivation with modern improved methods, the others still follow the crude method of shifting cultivation ; while polyandry is found to be practised by a number of groups, monogamy is the custom for the others. "While Buddhism (Lamaism) is the religion for a number of people, others follow Hinduism while still others have Christianity or live in the world of their own deities and spirits" (Raha, 1977)

Very little is known about many of these ethnic groups who live on or around the international border. Except some old accounts written by the missionaries, travellers and administrators, we have a very few anthropological studies on these people. But after independence it was felt essential to know these people living on and around our international border, particularly in the Himalayan region. This was necessary not only for the strategic importance of the area, but also for the welfare and development of these people and the areas.

This Survey has been working intermittently in the Himalayan region for the past several years but the coverage so far has been rather scanty. Because of this problem of inadequate coverage there are many communities on whom there is either a little or no information. It is necessary that this area of strategic importance should be more thoroughly studied so that relevant information on the socio-economic life and the trends of change are made available to the research scholars, administrators and social planners. It is with this end in view that this Survey has drawn up a programme of comprehensive socio-cultural study of the people of the entire Himalayan border area.

After the workshop seminar on the Himalayan Border Areas held in the Headquarters, Calcutta in the month of July 1972, a detailed programme was chalked out and a national project on the Himalayan Border Areas Studies entitled, "*Society and Culture among the People of Himalayan Border Area : Structure and Change*" was drawn up. It was settled that most of the areas touching international border, particularly with Tibet, will be covered first. For the purpose of this study the Himalayan international border area has been defined as 'the stretch of land lying between the Himalayan international boundary on the north and north-east and the line running almost parallel to this boundary just where the Himalayan foot hills meet the plain'. It was finalised that data under this project, will be collected on the traditional nature of the society and culture among these people. Besides, special emphasis will be given on the following aspects :

1. Ecological adaptation to the peculiar Himalayan environment : It is presumed that due to the peculiar geographical environment prevailing in the Himalayan border region the communities living there will pose some distinctive socio-cultural features.

2. Socio-cultural implications of the location : The villages in the border region are located not only at the frontier of a nation and civilization, *i.e.*, India, but also in between nations and civilizations. As such, it will be interesting to note the linkages and ties (if there be any) that are maintained by the border communities across the border with their ethnic brethren within India.

3. Trends of socio-economic changes since Independence : With the spread of administration in the remote parts of the border region the villages have also been subjected to a series of modern forces of change—education, network of roads, community development, health measures, etc. These have naturally affected the traditional society in a number of ways. The study, with 1947 as the base-line, will go into the detail of the processes and mechanism of the change and its overall effect on the traditional life of the people.

4. The Western and Eastern Himalayan border regions : The Western and the Eastern wings of this border region not only differ geographically but their inhabitants also manifest some sharp cultural contrasts. In a general way, it may be said that the people of the western region, except some portion of Ladakh, show a similarity and continuity with the Hindu cultural traditions. On the other hand, the people of the Eastern Himalayas have retained the tribal characters. That is why we find the presence of caste system in the Western Himalayas whereas this is either absent or functions in a very low key in the eastern region. Some other differentiating features can also be found in the settlement pattern, types of dwelling houses, modes of cultivation—terrace as opposed to transhumance, dress and ornaments, food habits, etc. The study shall also take note of this comparative aspect of the society and culture in two broader ecological zones of the border area.

A common guideline emphasising various points on the structure and change of the society and culture among the people of the Himalayan Border Areas was drawn up for the research personnel so that they can undertake identical nature of studies among various ethnic groups in different areas with the idea that a suitable comparative study in the whole region might be taken up in future.

Under this Himalayan Border Area Study Project, the North Western Regional Office of the Anthropological Survey of India at Dehra Dun has been given the task of carrying out anthropological research in the international border areas in the Himalayas stretching from Jammu and Kashmir to the hill districts of Uttar Pradesh. Accordingly, the authors have been given the task of undertaking research works in the district of Kinnaur in Himachal Pradesh bordering Tibet under the research project "*Society and Culture among the People of Kinnaur district, Himachal Pradesh : Structure and Change*".

The attraction of the Himalayas is unimaginable. The charm and beauty of the land and the hospitality and sweet behaviour of the people wiped out all our fear and anxiety. The attraction and appeal of the land and the people of Kinnaur will remain immortal in our memory. These have become stronger during our repeated visits to Kinnaur in the course of the project work.

Our first visit to Kinnaur district commenced in the months of May to July, 1970, long before the finalisation of the Himalayan Border Area Study Project. At that time we had been given the project, "Ethnographic and Culture Change Study among the Kinnaurese of Kinnaur". The next phase of field work under this project was commenced on September 1970 and continued upto October. Thereafter successive field trips took place in the months between June 1971 to October 1971 and May 1972 to July 1972. When the Himalayan Border Area Study was taken up, we streamlined our methodology to suit the criteria laid down in the Himalayan Border Area research project, "*Society and Culture among the People of Kinnaur, Himachal Pradesh : Structure and Change*". The criteria laid down in the above Himalayan Border Area Study Project were as follows :

(a) In each district, three villages should be selected for intensive study. One village should be located as near the border as possible. Such a village in the Himalayan region is invariably located at high altitude. The other two villages should be selected from the middle and lower ecological zones of the district.

(b) Except in the Arunachal Pradesh, Mizoram and Manipur, large multi-ethnic villages should be selected.

(c) The duration of field-work should range from three to six months depending on nature of the terrain, its accessibility, climate and other ecological constraints.

(d) Field-data should be collected on the basis of the guide-lines. Village census, participant observations, genealogical method, case-

histories and biographies should be used as tools for collecting data.

(e) In all aspects of the collection of data, attention should be given to the socio-economic articulation of the village with the outside world including that across the border. The trends of changes taking place in these villages since Independence should be recorded in detail.

For the purpose of study three villages were selected for study, one from each zone. The villages were selected after carefully considering various criteria as laid down in the guideline and also various other factors such as proximity to the district Headquarters, remoteness and so on. Necessary care was taken so as to select the best suitable villages. For intensive study under the research project, three villages, Chango, Kangos and Rogi were selected. The village Chango in Hangrang valley under Pooh sub-division, comes under Zone-I and also solves the criterion for selecting a village as near the international border as possible. Chango is the last Indian village in that direction and is quite close to our border with Tibet. It is also a multi-ethnic village and large in size. This is our high altitude village and is situated at an altitude of about 11,000 ft. above mean sea level.

Our second village is Kangos which is situated in Nachar sub-division under Zone-II. It is our lower altitude village with a height of about 7,500 ft. above mean sea level. It is a medium sized multi-ethnic village and quite close to the Simla district (earlier Mahasu district).

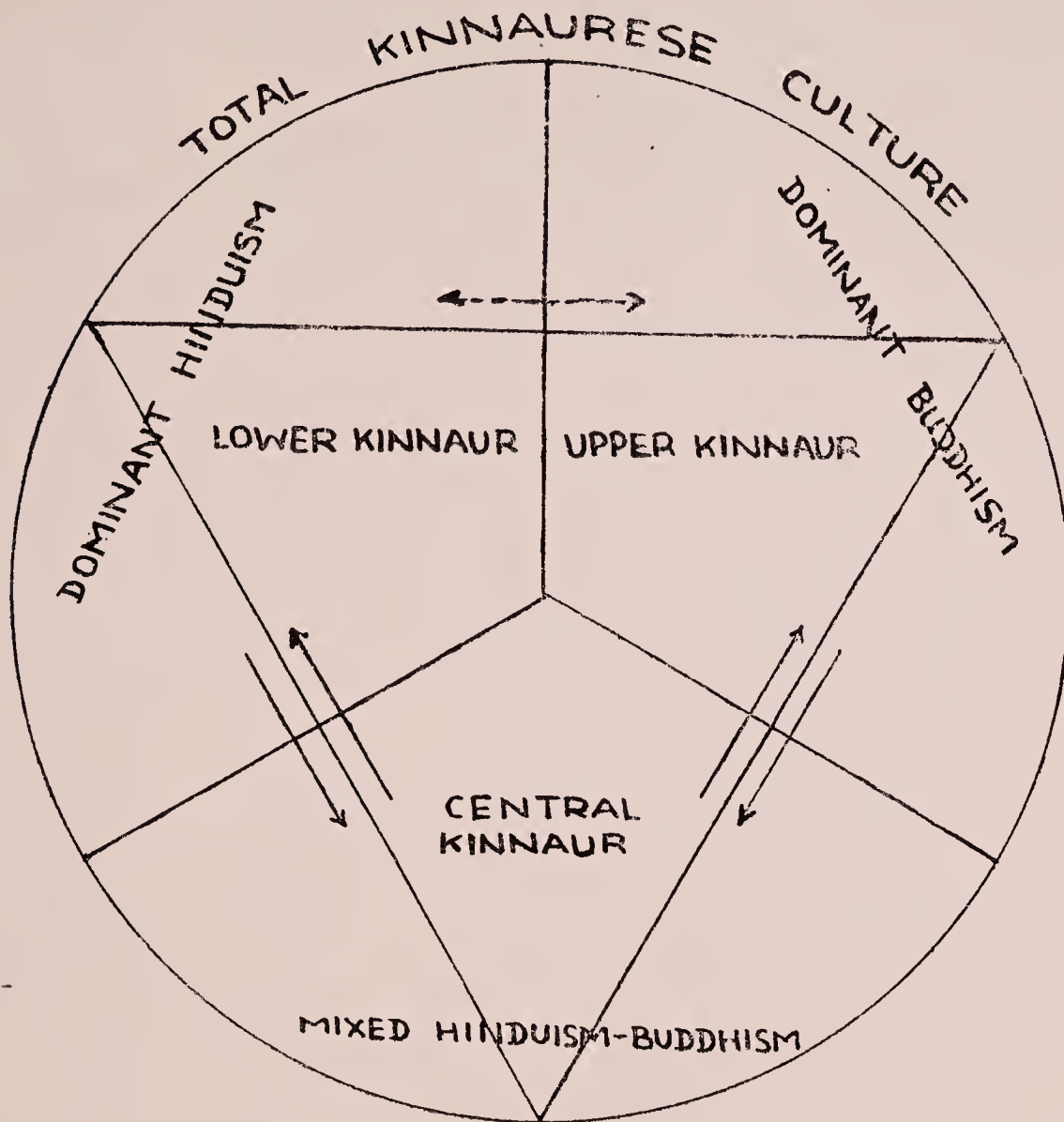
Our third village Rogi is a middle altitude village having a height of about 9,500 ft. above mean sea level. This village, quite close to the district Headquarters, Kalpa, is situated in Kalpa sub-division and comes under Zone-III. It is a medium sized multi-ethnic village.

Besides the above three villages, extensive study was undertaken in three more villages situated in above three zones. These villages are Namgia (10,000 ft.) in Zone-I (Pooh-subdivision) which is also one of the last villages of India, close to the border with Tibet, Sungra (7,500 ft.) in Zone-II which is situated in Nachar Sub-division and Duni (9,000 ft.) situated in Kalpa sub-division (Zone-III). All these villages are multi-ethnic villages. Some research works were also undertaken in the village Sangla under Sangla sub-Tehsil of Kalpa Sub-division. Studies in all these four villages along with those three for intensive study, helped us in knowing the structure and change of the society and culture in Kinnaur district in its totality.

During the period of field-work we took the opportunity of going through all relevant publications in the libraries in Simla and Kalpa. Over and above, the library at our Headquarters and also the National Library and the Library of the Asiatic Society of Bengal in Calcutta were also consulted.

The Kinnaurese, Kinner or Kinnaura are such a group of people who live in the lap of the Great Himalayan Ranges. They live in the district of Kinnaur in the State of Himachal Pradesh. These people who live

CULTURAL ZONE OF KINNAUR



at the altitude varying from 6000 ft. to 14000 ft. above sea level, have their own cultural pattern which is quite distinct from that of the plains areas and even somewhat different from that of the other areas of the Western Himalayas. Living for centuries in the high altitude of the Western Himalayas it is natural that they have adjusted with the peculiar ecological conditions and the rugged and unkempt terrains of the Himalayas.

The Kinnaurese were living in long isolation. Only in recent years they opened their door to the outside world. Till recently the old Hindustan-Tibet Road, a bridle path and mule tract was the only link road with the other parts of India. Only after 1960 the present National Highway No.-22 (New H.T. Road) was constructed. The tradition-bound Kinnaur saw the rays of enlightenment and modernity only when India became free in 1947. Thereafter, modern administration, modern transport and communication, modern education, and developmental works, new political ideologies, cash and market economy, new social awakening and many other factors brought and are still bringing multifarious changes in all walks of life of the Kinnaurese. Through the forthcoming pages we have tried to show the persistence of traditions and the changes in the contemporary culture and society of the Kinnaurese.

The district has been conveniently divided into three zones—Zone-I which includes most part of Pooh sub-division, is dominated by Buddhism (Lamaism). Zone-II which covers Nachar sub-division, is dominated by the Hinduism and Zone-III has a mixed religion of both Buddhism (Lamaism) and Hinduism (Raha : *op. cit*).

We thus feel that through the above few pages we have clarified the purpose and the problem of our study and also the methodology used in this research work.

SETTING : LAND & PEOPLE

NATURAL ENVIRONMENT

Location

The district of Kinnaur is situated in the north-eastern part of Himachal Pradesh. This Himalayan district, which is secluded, rugged and mountainous and covers both the sides of the river Sutlej, is bounded on the north by the Spiti area of the district of Lahaul and Spiti of Himachal Pradesh; on the east by Tibet; on the west by Simla district (earlier Mahasu district) of Himachal Pradesh and on the south by Tehri Garhwal and Uttarkashi districts of Uttar Pradesh.

Origin of name of the district

The common view regarding the origin of the name of the district is that the district derived its name from the inhabitants who are known as the *Kinner* or *Kinnaura*. According to Sanskritayan the original name of the district was *Kimpurus Desh* or *Kimpurus Barsa i.e.*, the land of the Kimpurusa (1956, 291).

The present name *Kinnaur* was introduced officially when the district was formed. The earlier names as spelled by different travellers and administrators are Kunavur (Fraser, 1820), Koonawur (Gerard, 1841; Thornton, 1862), Kanaur (Rose, 1911) and Kunawar (Wilson, 1876).

Area

The district has an area of 6520 sq. kilometres according to Surveyor General of India which forms 11.71 per cent of total area of the State, though according to the village papers the area of the district is 140.73 sq. kilometres. This is because of the vast undermined waste land and forests which were not measured during settlement operations (Pandey, 1971 : 1).

Configuration

In Kinnaur most of the habitations are lying on the banks of the river Sutlej and also some of its tributaries. Most of the villages are situated in the higher altitudes varying from 7,000 ft. to 12,000 ft. One can hardly get a village at an altitude below 6000 ft. "Face of the country presents high hills and low dales with rapid and rushing streams and streamlets and is marked by precipitous sky-high mountains with their peaks usually covered with perpetual snow". (Singh, 1965 :3).

Climatic condition

For the peculiar geographical position and topography of this district one experiences change "from the heat of the tropical zone almost to the freezing temperature of a lapland winter" (*op. cit.* : 7). For this varia-

tion the climate of Kinnaur may be divided into four different types, viz., (i) Spring which lasts from the middle of March to the middle of May, (ii) Summer, from the middle of May to the middle of September (iii) Autumn from the middle of September to the end of November and lastly (iv) Winter, from the beginning of December to the middle of March. From the month of March the temperature begins to rise till June or July (which is considered as the warmest month) whereafter the temperature drops gradually. January and February are the coldest months.

The rainfall, which is not heavy, is not uniform throughout the district; it decreases rapidly from the south-west to the north-east of the district. As a result most parts of the Pooh-Subdivision is semi-arid. In the district, while the average rainfall was 434.1 mm, it was 710.0 mm. at Nachar, 322.2 mm. at Kalpa and 270.1 mm. at Sangla. The other interesting point is that the quantity of rainfall has been suddenly increased these years. It was 520.2 mm. in 1970, 648.9 mm. in 1971 and 669.1 mm. in 1972.

The snowfall also varies from place to place. In the extreme south-west part of the district it is lower than that in the rest of the district. The snowfall lasts from December to March. The average snowfall of the district in 1973 was 322.1 mm. It was 434.2 mm. at Nachar, 629.1 mm. at Kalpa 270.1 mm. at Sangla, 235.2 mm. at Purbani and 42.1 mm. at Kilba in the same year. The quantity of snowfall has gradually been decreased since 1970. In 1970 the average snowfall of the district was 1983.2 mm., it was 624.5 mm. in 1971, 523.2 mm. in 1972 and 322.1 mm. in 1973.

Hills and mountains

A series of mountains and precipitous ravines descending rapidly to the bed of the Sutlej and its tributaries, is seen in Kinnaur district. The three mountain ranges, the Zaskar, the Great Himalaya and the Dhaola Dhar, have encompassed Kinnaur. The two highest peaks, Leo Pargial and Parasala are 6,770 and 6,608 metres respectively. The general features of these mountain systems are that the lee sides are usually jagged and shaggy covered with thick unkempt vegetation while the opposite side is more gently sloped with less developed timber but with rich pasture land.

Valleys

In Kinnaur there are several valleys and of the different valleys, the largest one is the Sutlej valley. It is spread over both the banks of the river Sutlej. With its about 140 km. length, it runs from north-east to south-west direction. Several important villages are found in this valley. The valley next in importance, is called Spiti valley (132 km) which is

situated on the lower part of the course of the Spiti river. A few villages are found here.

The Ropa valley which is also known as the Shyaso or Sounnam valley, is situated on the either bank of the Ropa stream. A few important habitations are found here.

The Wangpo or Bhabha valley is a small wooded valley. It has several villages.

The Baspa or Sangla valley, which is the most beautiful and romantic valley of Kinnaur, is about 95 kms. in length and provides space for a number of important villages and rich cultivable and pasture land.

Besides, there are some other minor valleys in Kinnaur such as the Tidong, the Gyanthing or Nesang, the Pejur or Lippa, the Kashang, the Mulgoon and the Yula. These valleys are rich with grazing land.

River System

The principal river of this district is the Sutlej which is also known by many other names such as Sitloda, Shatadru, Satrudra, Muksung, Sampoo, Zung-tee, Sumudrang and Sutoodra. Arising in the Himilayas it enters the district from Tibet by a pass and reaches the border of Kulu. While passing over Kinnaur, it divides the district into two halves. In its length of about 130 kms. inside the district, the Sutlej is fed by a number of its tributaries such as the Spiti, the Ropa, the Taiti, the Kashang, the the Mulgoon, the Yula, the Baspa etc.

In connection with the origin of the Sutlej river there are some interesting legends, one of which states that Banasur, the chief of King Dev Purna while on a pilgrimage for the lake of Manasarovar, saw the water there in a state of turmoil. Water with different colours coming from different directions, got mixed up there. Banasur acting as a peace maker, heard the conflicting views of the waters and decided that separation of the coloured waters would be the only solution and accordingly gave verdict. As the different coloured waters started flowing in different directions, Banasur decided to bring with him the most abundant blue icy-cold water to his country, Kinnaur. Thus this water formed a stream, known as the Shohneet of the Purana or the present Sutlej. On the bank of this river, Banasur established his capital, Shohneetpur (the present Sarahan) named after the river with blue water". (Agnohtri, 1959)

In Sanskrit literature this river is known as the Shatadru. The name Shatadru came from an interesting incident. Vasishta, the famous sage, while wandering in the Himalayas sadly, thought of committing suicide, and as such jumped in an awe-inspiring river which coming in touch with the resplendent sage, divided into hundred currents in order to flee away. Thus it came to be known as *Shatadru*. (Mahabharata : Chaitra rath, Parba : 516).

Forest and Flora

In Kinnaur the total area under forest is 6013.89 sq. kms. in 1973. Due to the ecological conditions the forests of this district can be divided into three main zones—(i) The moist zone which spreads over lower Kinnaur (ii) The central part of the district come under the dry zone, and (iii) The arid zone covers the area adjoining Tibet border.

The important trees of moist zone are *Pinus longifolia*, *Quercus incana*, *Rhododendron arboreum*, *Pinus excelsa*, *Pinus smithiana*, *Abies pindrow*, *Quercus semicarpifolia* etc. While those in dry zone are *Pinus gerardiana*, *Cedrus deodara*, *Quercus incana* etc. The arid zone is enriched by *Pinus gerardiana*, *Cedrus deodara* etc.

Fauna

The district was once rich with alpine fauna. But with the growth of population and the new constructions and other development works, the number of these animals has steadily decreased. Some of these are blue sheep, brown bear, hillfox, jungle cat, flying fox, Himalayan langur, Himalayan black bear, Himalayan palm civet, Himalaya ibex, leopard, monkey, musk deer, snow leopard, Himalayan wolf etc. The wild life are protected and preserved by the Indian Forest Act, 1927 and Punjab Wild Birds and Wild Animals Protection Act II of 1933.

Communication

During pre-independence era, even a few years after independence, this district was somewhat secluded. Some mule tracks and bridle paths actually represented the roads. This conditions was due to the peculiar mountainous situation of the district. Gerard has given a beautiful picture of the condition of the communication of the area. "The roads in general consists of narrow foot-paths, skirting precipice, with often here and there rocks that would seem to come down with a puff of wind, projecting over the head; ... "In 1948 there were no jeepable or motorable roads. There were a few mule tracks' The Hindustan Tibet mule road was the link with the outside world. After the formation of Himachal Pradesh an ambitious plan of road development was prepared for this area". (Singh, 1965 :20). There was no vehicular traffic in the district during the first and the second plans. Only in 1959 the first jeep came to Kalpa and the National Highway No. 22 (also locally known as the New Hindustan Tibet road) which spreads from Ambala to Kaurick, was opened to traffic during Third Plan. Besides the present N.H. No. 22 (172 kms.) which connects one end of the district with other, the important areas and villages of the district are connected by means of jeepable or motorable roads (732 kms.). Many bridle paths have been widened to facilitate transport. Buses at present are plying regularly through the three sub-divisions of the district. As a result of the road develop-

ment, the old mule or *jhoont* transport system has almost been replaced by the new mechanised transport in some areas.

Besides the road transport the post and telegraphic facilities are also well developed at present. In 1910 while there were only two branch post offices, one at Nachar and other at Chini (at present Kalpa) under the sub-post office of Rampur of erstwhile Bushahr State (now under Simla district), the strength of post-offices in Kinnaur in 1973 was ten with extra departmental branch offices numbering 78 besides two telegraph offices. Besides post and telegraph, the district has been provided with wireless communication system also. The radio has become very popular in Kinnaur. Many houses are found to have radio sets. Many *gram savas* have been provided with radio sets by the Government.

Historical Background

Kinnaur came into being as a separate district only in May 1, 1960. Before that it was a part of Mahasu district, and during pre-independence period it was a part of erstwhile Bushahr State. Punjab Hill States Gazetteer states that the upper or north-eastern portion of Bushahr was called Kanawar, and the rest of the State, Kochi (1910 : 5).

According to Vidyalkar the ancient Kinnaurdesha covered area situated between the mountains of the Sutlej and the Yamuna rivers. (Mamgain, 1971 : 49). Dr. Budh Prakash is of opinion that the southern part of Kashmir, known as Kinnaur, is also considered as the reminiscent of the ancient Kinnaurdesha (Mamgain, 1971 : 49). According to some other view this region lies along the upper valley of the Jhelum between the Dhaola Dhar and the Zaskar mountains (*op. cit.*). In the Mahabharata (Sabha Parva, Ch. IX verses 1-5) where the northern conquest of Arjuna has been mentioned, it has been stated that the country of the Kimpurusa (Kinner) was situated before Hatka-desha of the Guhyakas. That means Kinnaur was situated in the west of Kailas and the lake Manasa. Sanskritayan's view (1956) is that in ancient time the area inhabited by the Kinner in the Himalaya, was stretched from the eastern bank of the Ganges to that of the Sutlej and the Chandrabhaga in the west. In the Vimanvathu written in second century B.C. by Sutpitak states चन्द्राभागा नदी तीरे चन्हौसि किन्नरो नराः (Mumgain, 1971 : 50). The Visnupurana mentions that to the north of Bharatavarsha lies Kinnaravarsha (II; III) .

An old travelogue while describing the location of the district, states, "Kunawar is that part of Bischur (Bushahr) which embraces all the northern, north-eastern and eastern tracts and lies entirely in and behind the snowy hills, chiefly comprised in the glen of the Sutlej, and running through and beyond these mountains, cutting in a line, diverging not far from east and west. On the west, all that barrern tracts which bounds with Cooloo, and sends its water to the Sutlej, is included in Kunawar, as also is the whole tract between that river and the head of the Pabur,

to the eastward and south-eastward, where it is met by the districts of Rewaheen in Gurhwal, called Futteh Purbat and Panch Parbat, from which places passes lead to Kunawar". (Fraser, 1820 :262). In the Simla District Gazetteer of 1904 Kinnaur has been mentioned as lying immediately to the south of Spiti and Lahaul, and 'forms the largest subdivision of the Bashahr principality' (1908 : 4).

No much is known about the early history of Kinnaur or of Bushahr State of which Kinnaur was a part. One legend quoted in the Punjab States Gazetteer states that "the ruling family is descended from the celebrated Sri Krishna of Hindu mythology through his grand-son Parduman, who came to Sarahan in order to marry the daughter of Raja Bavasa Deo (or Banasar)...but Parduman is said to have killed his prospective father-in-law and usurped his power. His capital was at Kamru in the Tukpa pargana of Kanawar" (1911 : 5).

The other legend indicates that the ruling family is of the 'Brahman¹ in origin' (Fraser, 1810 : 269). Whatever may be the racial affinity of the Rajas of Bushahr, the subjects used to consider the king to be semi-divine and a considerable portion of the inhabitants of the state, particularly those living in the remote parts, used to worship him. The kings of this state probably first rose to power as the head of a confederacy of petty chiefs or *thakurs* among whom the State was originally divided.

Due to its border with Tibet, Kinnaur had a trade link with Tibet, and for pasture also Kinnaurese used to go to Tibet. As a result they had interaction with the Tibetans who are also known as the Bhotia or Bhot. Thus the history of Kinnaur, upto fourteenth century, can broadly be divided into three periods :(1) Pre-Aryan or Pre-Khash period, (2) Pre-Bhot period upto seventh century and (3) Bhot period upto thirteenth/ fourteenth century. (Mamgain, 1971 : 51).

During Aryan invasion the Kinner, the Kirat and the Naga were the main inhabitants, besides of course, some other groups such as the Yaksha, the Gandharva and others. As the the Khasa came to this place, they overpowered the other groups and became masters by virtue of their strength. The Khasa occupation continued till pre-Bhot period. After the Aryan invasions the Kinner and other ethnic groups in the same way came in their contact.

During the Bhot period the Kinnaurese came in contact with the Tibetans and got acquainted with Bhot language and culture. During Guge period which lasted from tenth to thirteenth century, A.D., when a bond of friendship was established between these two groups of people, and for this the trade expanded to a great extent.

At the beginning of the fourteenth century the entire area of Kinnaur was divided into seven parts, locally called *Sat Khund* (*op. cit.* : 52).

¹ It is important to mention here that the district of Kinnaur does not have any Brahman. Here those who employ Brahman, bring the latter from Sarahan which is the last threshold of the Brahmans in this region.

The area was further splitted up and each of these was ruled by a Thakur. The Thakurs in order to protect themselves from the other warring Thakurs and the Bhot, built up forts, and even now-a-days such fort is found in many places of Kinnaur, viz.—Librang, Morang, Kamru etc. Possibly hereafter, one ruling Thakur became powerful and got control over the whole area.

From some *chironings*² it is known that one Dev Purna came to the power after killing the ruling Thakur of Kamru in Kinnaur. Then gradually Dev Purna occupied the whole area after defeating all the Thakurs of the area. He then proceeded towards Sarahan where Banasur was the chief. A battle took place between the two and Banasur was defeated and killed. Dev Purna then brought a man named Parduman alleged to be from Kashi (Varanasi) who belonged to the Chandervansi dynasty and settled him at Sarahan and gave him power to rule the area. But there are other versions of this legend too.

Afterwards in sixteenth century, the Thakur of Kamru became the ruler of a vast tract of land. Thereafter he shifted his capital to the legendary Shonitpur which is at present known as Sarhan (Sanskritayan : 1956). Of course there is some controversy regarding the exact location of this legendary Shonitpur. According to some, Tejpur of Assam was also claimed as Shonitpur. (Mamgain, 1971 : 56); but according to Johri Sita Ram (1964 : 71) and Punjab Notes and Querries, Shonitpur the capital of Banasur, is actually a place called Suinear Loguhath Sonitpur in Almora district of Uttar Pradesh.

Whatever the nature of their origin may be, the Rajas of Bushahir once rose into power as the head of a confederacy of pretty chiefs or *Thakurs*. Raja Chatar Singh, the 110th chief from Parduman was said to have been the first to bring under his control the whole of the State. But Raja Kehri Singh, the 113th chief from Parduman, has been described as 'the doughtiest warrior of the line'.

Raja Ram Singh, the 116th king of the line, founded his new capital at Rampur. Actually during his reign downfall of power of Bushahir kingdom started. But Rama Ugar Singh, the 118th king of the line could revive some glory of the kingdom.

From 1803 to 1815 the State of Bushahir had suffered from the waves of invasion by the Gorkhas who constructed a number of forts there. They ransacked the state capital, Rampur and destroyed the state archives, containing valuable papers. After the British Government declared war against the Gurkhas during the late 1814, the Bushahir army recaptured other forts occupied by the Gurkha army. During these wars the Kinnaurese showed tremendous bravery and courage.

When the Gurkha army was expelled, the British Government by a *Sanad* (Proclamation), dated 6th November 1815, confirmed Raja

² Sermonic harangue, which narrates not only the will of the deity but also the history and custom and manners of the society by the *Grokch* of the oracle.

Mahindar Singh, the great grand father of the present Vir Bhadra Singh (M.P.) in possession of all his former territories except Rawain and Kotguru or Kotgarh, which were kept under their (British Government) control. Raja Mohindar Singh ruled till 1850. He was proved to be weak, and during his reign the hereditary Wazirs were more powerful and used to administrate according to their will (1911 : 10). In 1850 Raja Shamsheer Singh was enthroned. During the Mutiny of 1857, the conduct of the Raja was criticised by the British Government. It was stated that "he kept back his tribute, offered no aid, treated official travelling through his territory with discourtesy" (*op. cit.*). The British Government thought of disposing the king and bringing the state under the control of the Superintendent, Hill States. However, this proposal was later on abandoned.

The power of the Wazirs was practically reduced during the rule of Raghunath Singh from 1887 to 1898. But with the death of Raghunath Singh the Government appointed Rai Saheb Mangat Singh as chief Wazir with all power to administration.

In 1899 to 1900 the administration of Bushahir ran satisfactorily under Mangat Singh. Later on Raja Padam Singh became the head of this State. He remained as the head of this State till the independence of India when the Bushahir State became the part of Mahasu district (which became Simla District after the reorganisation of the district in 1972) of Himachal Pradesh, though of course, in the later stage, a part of Mahasu district formed Kinnaur district. Raja Padam Singh died leaving two sons, Raja Vir Bhadra Singh and Kumar Devendra Singh. After the death of Padam Singh, Raja Vir Bhadra Singh was recognised as the ruler which office he continued till the abolition of privy purses.

The People

The inhabitants of Kinnaur district are known as Kinnara, Kinnaura or Kinnawrese. Very little is known about the origin of these people. According to the Bhagavata Purana, they have been created by the Brahma from his shadow. Another legend marks that they have sprung from the toe of Brahma with the Yakshas. It is also thought that they were sons of Kashyapa. The Matsya Purana mentions that they were born of Arishta and Kashyapa. In Vayu Purana they have been mentioned as the sons of Asvamukhas (64 : 31, 36-37). But according to the Bahvri-copanishada, Devi created the Kinnaurese along with Brahma, Visnu, Rudra, the Maruts, Gandharvas and Apsaras. Alongwith other Himalayan godly races like the Apsaras, the Yaksas, the Gandharvas, the Khasas, the Guhyakas, the Siddhas and others, the Kinnaurese are also considered as having a divine origin living in the Himalayas. In *Mahabharata* (2.393) the Kinnaurese have been grouped with the Gandharvas. (*Kinnara nama Gandharva naranam tathapare*) while in the Matsya Purana (1.327) their kinship with the Kiratas and the Yaksas has been focussed.

It is believed that the Kinnaurese belong to the same stock as the Yaksasas, the Kiratas and the Sabaras. Kalidasa has described them as singing the adventures and heroic deeds of Raghu (Raghuvansam : iv-73). Meghdutam mentions that Kinnaurese men and women used to sing together : Samraktamhistripuravijayahgi yate Kinnaribhih (sloka :37). In the Mahabharata (Adi Parba, chap. 66, sloka-7), they have been described as the dwellers of the high Himalayas and famous for their music and dance which they used to perform in the divine court. The Ramayana (Uttar Khanda, chap. 78, sloka-3) and the Manusamhita (chap. 10, sloka-44) have also depicted their talents in dance and music. In Raghuvansam they have been described as a polyandrous tribe in Himalayan region (1954 : 40).

In the Vayu Purana (69 : 34) they have been divided into two classes—*Asvamukhas* and *Naramukhas* (*utpaditah naramukhah Kinnarah samsa-payanah*), Alain has also stated that in some ancient Indian literature, they have been mentioned as the fabulous being, half human half bird with birds legs and wings and human head with horse's body or horse's head with human body (*Aswamukha*) (1964 : 307). But according to Heinrich these names (*Kimpurusa* and *Aswamukha*) have been given to the enslaved and defeated Dasas (1947 : 120).

In this connection it is interesting to refer to a particular custom prevalent among the people of Kinnaur valley. From the first of Baisakh upto the 15th of the month, the boys and the girls engage in dancing with masks of horses and deer..... It may reasonably be suggested that the Aryans saw them first as masked dancers and described them as such in order to distinguish them from other Himalayan tribes. They have been described as horse-faced because of their marked prognathism and even today certain sections of the people of Kinnaur possess, a marked prognathism and Armenoid nose (Das : 1954 :40). Vidyalkar describing Raghu's line of conquest, stated that, Raghu's next encounter was against the mountaineer Ganas, the Utsava Sanketas and the Kinnaras (Mamgain : 1971). Mukherjee defined Utsava Sanketas to mean literally the people of loose affection and the Kinnaras as the polyandrous tribe of Himalayan region (1959 : 69).

At present as stated earlier, the inhabitants of Kinnaur are known as the Kinner, Kinnaura or Kinnaurese. These Kinnaurese do not belong to a single ethnic group but to different ethnic groups. Among them the Rajput or Kanet are the most important and dominant group. The next numerically dominant group is the Koli. The Koli are weavers, leather workers and agriculturists as well. The two other groups the Lohar (iron and silver smiths) and the Badhi (carpenters and masons) are numerically weaker groups. Only one or two households are found in a village and that too not in all villages. The last group, the Nangalu, who are basket makers, are also very few in number and found only in the lower Kinnaur region.

The Rajputs in Kinnaur are also known as the Khas or Khasa or

Khosia. In the Visnu Purana and the Vanya Puranas mention has been made of a group of people who lived in the mountainous region of the Western Himalayas. These people were known as the Khasas and were stated to have been very powerful, warlike and adventurous. (Sen :1970, 8). The Brokpas of Western Ladak, the people of Kulu, the Khosias of Kinnaur and the Khasas of Kumaon and Garhwal districts of Uttar Pradesh are said to have same common Aryan features (*op. cit.*). According to Rahul (1953) the Khash came to India about 2000 BC and entered the Himalayas through East Central Asia and then settled throughout the Himalayas. According to Grierson the Khasa were of Aryan origin and came from Central Asia. They were followed by the Gujjars who invaded India during the sixth century AD and occupied the area known as *sapadalaksha* (*op. cit.* 14). But in the Simla District Gazetteer the Khash have been mentioned as one of the three divisions of the Kanets with inferior status; the other two being Rahu and Kuthara. According to Ibbetson the Khasia were more orthodox Hindus and descended from the intercourse between the Aryan immigrants and the women of the hills, but Sir James Lyall opined that they originated from the mixture of Mughal and Hindu race (*op. cit.*).

As stated earlier the Rajput (Kanets or Khash or Khosia) are the most dominant group in Kinnaur. Actually as the Simla District Gazetteer, 1888-89 states, the Kanet are practically by far the most important element in the rural population of the whole of the Simla States. They are popularly supposed to be Rajput who have lost caste by allowing the practices of paying money for a wife and of the second marriage of widows (1889 : 43). They are also found in Mahasu (at present Simla), Kulu, Mandi and other districts of Himachal Pradesh.

Many Kinnaurese of Kinnaur consider the term 'Kanet' derogatory. Two reasons may be given to this, which as stated in Gazetteers are 'one that it is *Kunit* or "violator" (*i.e.* of the Shastras), and the other that it is a corruption of *Kania Het* meaning "daughter's love'. With reference to the latter derivation it is said that the early Rajputs practised female infanticide, and those of them who became degraded, abandoned the the custom, and so were called daughter's lovers'. (*op. cit.* 20).

The Koli are the Scheduled Caste. They form the second largest ethnic group in Kinnaur, next to the Rajputs. By occupation they are weavers, scavangers and agriculturists. They are 'supposed to have sprung from the Kanets,' The tradition regarding the origin of the Koli states that once a Kanet father who had two sons by different wives, divided his property between his two sons. It was agreed upon that he, who would be first to plough in the morning, would get the first share. The youngest son got up first and went to plough. The elder brother woke up late, and finding it difficult to plough the courtyard, killed the bullocks by the axe. As a result of this sinful act he was excommunicated. He had two sons, and one of these led a respectable life while the other was guilty of skinning and eating dead oxen. From the first

son originated the Koli. They are considered as untouchables by the Rajput.

As stated earlier the Badhi, the Lohar and the Nangalu do not have any considerable strength in this district. One or a few households can be found in a village. Even there are villages where there is no such functional castes. The Badhi are the carpenters but also work as mason to build houses for the Rajput. They have also a very low status. The Lohar are the blacksmiths. They make various agricultural and horticultural implements for their neighbours. Besides making iron implements, they also make ornaments mostly of the silver for the Kinnauri women. They have almost the same status as that of the Badhi. The Nangalu are found only in the lower Kinnaur, mostly in the Nachar Sub-division. The name Nangalu has been derived from nangal, a kind of creeper with which they prepare baskets. They are basket makers by profession having lower status than that of the Lohar and the Badhi. Regarding these functional castes, many have the feeling that the Rajput brought them long ago in order to get services from them.

Population

The district with an area of 6528 sq. kilometres has a population of 49,835 according to 1971 Census forming 1.44% of the total population of the State (3,460,434). Of this population the proportion of males and females are 26,407 and 23,428. In Table 1, Tehsilwise distribution of population according to 1971 Census has been given.

TABLE 1. Tehsilwise distribution of population in Kinnaur 1971

District/Sub-division/Tehsils	Population	
	Person	Percentage
Kinnaur District	49,835	99.99%
Pooh Sub-division	16,413	32.93%
Morang Tehsil	3,125	6.27%
Pooh Tehsil	5,841	11.72%
Hangrang Tehsil	7,447	14.94%
Kalpa Sub-division	19,217	38.56%
Kalpa Tehsil	10,789	21.65%
Sangla Tehsil	8,428	16.91%
Nachar Sub-division	14,205	28.50%
Nachar Tehsil	14,205	28.50%

TABLE 2. Variation of Population in Different Decades, 1901—1972

Census Years	Persons			Male			Female		
	Total	Variation	Percentage Variation	Total	Variation	Percentage Variation	Total	Variation	Percentage Variation
1901	27,232			14,252			12,980		
1911	28,470	+1238	+4.55	14,710	+458	+3.21	13,760	+780	+6.01
1921	28,191	— 279	— 0.98	14,664	— 46	— 0.31	13,527	— 233	— 1.69
1931	30,445	+2254	+8.00	15,685	+1021	+6.96	14,760	+1233	+9.12
1941	33,238	+2793	+9.17	17,400	+1715	+10.93	15,838	+1078	+7.30
1951	34,475	+1237	+3.72	16,654	— 746	— 4.29	17,821	+1983	+12.52
1961	40,980	+6505	+18.87	20,808	+4154	+24.94	20,172	+2351	+13.10
1971	49,835	+8855	+21.61	26,407	+5599	+26.21	23,428	+3256	+16.14

The earliest population figure of Kinnaur is available from Gerard who estimated the population of this area in 1822 to be 9,853 (1941 : 7). This population figure certainly gives some idea about the low population density in the area. The population after the lapse of 149 years, has been shown in Table 2.

Growth of Population

The growth of population in this district is undoubtedly very low. Between 1901 to 1951 the rate of growth was considerably low; moreover, in 1921 the population decreased by 279 persons (0.98 %). The significant increase was first noticed in 1961 when the population was increased over 1951 population by 6,505 persons (18.87 %). In 1971 the increase is of 8,885 persons (21.61 %) over 1961. That means from 1901 to 1971 the increase of population is 22,603 (83.00 %).

Sex Ratio

The number of females in the population of Kinnaur was always lower than that of the males. This tendency can be noticed since 1901 (Table 3). Figures of different census years since 1901 except 1951,

TABLE 3. Sex Ratio in Kinnaurese Population, 1901-1971.

Year	Females per thousand males
1901	911
1911	935
1921	922
1931	941
1941	910
1951	1,070
1961	969
1971	887

show that the males are proportionately higher in number than the females. But in no case the number of the females were significantly lower than that of males. Lowest number of females per thousand males is present in 1971. Only in 1951 the females were higher in number than the males. This proportion of two sexes in different years shows that the population has always presented a balanced picture.

Density of the Population

The district of Kinnaur which covers 11.7 % of the total area of the state, has a very low density of population. In 1971 the density was 8 persons per square kilometre. In 1961 the density was 6 persons per square kilometre. Except Lahaul and Spiti district (where density of population is two persons per square kilometre) no other district of the state of Himachal Pradesh is so much sparsely populated. This is

probably because of the difficult topography and unkind climatic conditions of the area.

Scheduled Caste and Scheduled Tribe Population

In Kinnaur, majority of the population (Table 4) belong to the Scheduled Tribe (68.41%). The Scheduled Caste population covers only 19.40%. That means, these two categories of people jointly cover almost entire population of the district (87.81%). Again the Scheduled Tribe population of this district forms 24.07% of the total Scheduled Tribe population of the State (141,610). Similarly, the Scheduled Caste population of this district forms only a small fraction (1.26%) of the States Scheduled castes population (769,572).

Both the Scheduled Caste and the Scheduled Tribe population of this district are distributed in the varied proportion in different subdivisions and Tehsils (Table 4). The maximum concentration of the Scheduled Caste population is in Nachar sub-division, followed

TABLE 4. Tehsilwise distribution of Sch. Caste and Sch. Tribe population, 1971 Census.

District/Subdivision/Tehsil	Sch. Caste population		Sch. Tribe population	
	No.	%	No.	%
Kinnaur District	9,669		34,090	
Pooh Sub-division	1,376	14.23	13,000	38.13
Morang Tehsil	475	4.91	6,510	19.10
Pooh Tehsil	797	8.24	3,914	11.48
Hangrang Tehsil	104	1.08	2,576	7.55
Kalpa Sub-division	4,123	42.64	12,168	35.69
Kalpa Tehsil	2,560	26.48	5,734	16.82
Sangla Tehsil	1,563	16.16	6,434	18.87
Nachar Sub-division	4,170	43.13	8,922	26.18
Nachar Tehsil	4,170	43.13	8,922	26.18

by Kalpa sub-division. The lowest concentration is found in Pooh sub-division. On the other hand, Pooh sub-division bears the maximum Scheduled Tribe population (38.13%), while Nachar sub-division has the lowest (26.18%). Among different Tehsils, Nachar Tehsil has the highest concentration of the Scheduled Castes (43.13%) followed by Kalpa Tehsil with Hangrang Tehsil having the lowest. So far as the concentration of the Scheduled Tribe population is concerned, Nachar Tehsil tops the list (26.18%) followed by Morang (19.10%) and Sangla (18.87%) Tehsils. Hangrang Tehsil has the lowest number of Scheduled Tribes.

In this connection it may be pointed out that the Kinnaur have been declared as the Scheduled Tribe, and the Lohar, the Koli, the Badhi and the Nangalu as Scheduled Castes. These castes are also considered as the Kinnaura as they are the inhabitants of Kinnaur, and as such, confusion arose whether or not to consider them as Scheduled Tribe. The problem continued for a long time. And according to some officials they are at present treated as Scheduled Tribes. This problem puzzled the census authority also. "It would be interesting to note in this context that all the non-migrant natural inhabitants of these two districts (Lahaul-Spiti and Kinnaur) can claim to be members of the Scheduled Tribes, under the Government of India, Ministry of Home Affairs, Scheduled Caste and Scheduled Tribes lists Modification Order, 1956. But as it is, the caste system is also prevalent in these areas. In the Census Schedule an individual could either return himself as a member of a Scheduled Caste or as one belonging to a Scheduled Tribe. It may therefore, be deduced that the census figures have been affected due to this peculiar situation because more people preferred to return themselves as Scheduled Tribes as compared to 1971 Census. Consequently the Scheduled Caste population has decreased in these two districts" (Singh, 1972 : 2). Factual data show that while the number of the members of Scheduled Caste population was 11,133 in 1961, the same came down to 9,669 in 1971 (—13.15%), whereas the Scheduled Tribe population was 25,667 in 1961 the same increased to 34,090 (+32.82%) in 1971. It is seen that only the Rajput (Kanet) are enjoying the Scheduled Tribe benefits as they have been considered as the Kinnaura all along.

Language

According to Grierson, Kanawari dialect comes under the Western sub-group of Tibeto-Himalayan group which belong to Tibeto-Burman family of languages (1908 : 111, 1:430-440). According to him 'Kanawari' is the name of the dialect or dialects spoken in the Sutlej valley from the junction of that river with the Spiti stream. The dialect is also known under the name of Tibarskad. In lower Kinnaur it is said to be locally known under the names of Milchanang, and Malhesti' (*op. cit.* : 430).

Though Grierson considered Kanawari as one dialect but actually there are several sub-dialects found in different areas of this district.

According to Gerard 'there are different dialects spoken in Koonawar' (1841 : 87) and these are :

1. The Milchan or common Koonawaree
2. The Theburskud, spoken in Soongum
3. The dialect used in Lubrung and Kanum
4. That spoken in Leedang
5. The Bhoteea or Tartar.

A recent study indicates that there are ten dialects spoken in this district (Mamgain, 1971 : 69, 70). Following are these ten dialects :

- (1) Standard Kinnauri dialect spoken in Kalpa Tehsil, Nachar Tehsil and Sangla Teshil (except Rakeham and Chitkul) and Rarang, Ribba, Akpa, Rispa, Thangi, Morang, Giabong and Ropa villages.
- (2) Standard Harijan Kinnauri dialect spoken in Kalpa and nearby villages.
- (3) Kinnauri sub-dialect spoken in Chitkul and Rakeham villages.
- (4) Kinnauri sub-dialect spoken in Kuno and Charang villages.
- (5) Kinnauri sub-dialect spoken in Nesang.
- (6) Kinnauri sub-dialect spoken in Lippa, Asrang and Jangi villages.
- (7) Kinnauri sub-dialect spoken in Spilo, Labrang, Kanam and Siaso.
- (8) Kinnauri sub-dialect spoken in Sangnam village.
- (9) Kinnauri sub-dialect spoken in Pooh, Debling, Dubling Khabo and Namgia villages and Hangrang valley.

This clearly shows that in Kinnaur diversity in dialect is found from one part to another. Kapoor on the basis of the published materials (Konow : 1969; Bailey : 1909 and Grierson : 1927) spells out that 'the dialects spoken in Kinnaur and classified as Kanawari belong to the complex pronominalized dialects of the Himalayan branch of the Tibeto-Burman languages. Besides these, Nyamkad, which is a dialect of the Tibetan, is spoken in Hangrang *Ghori* (Administrative units). A dialect of Tibetan is also spoken by the people inhabiting the territory between Kanum and the Tibetan border (1969 : 9). Further, following those linguists, Kapoor mentions five different dialects in Kinnauri language (*op. cit.*). These are :

- (i) **Lower Kinnauri**—Spoken in the north of Sutlej between miles 92 and 104 of the Hindustan Tibet Road.
- (ii) **Standard Kinnauri**—It is spoken on the southern sides of the river Sutlej, from miles 92 to 162.
- (iii) **Chitkuli**—It is spoken in the villages Chitkul and Rakeham in Sangla Tehsil.
- (iv) **Theborskad**—Spoken in the villages, like Lippa, Asran, Shunam and Shaso. According to Branderth this dialect is spoken as Bunan in Lahaul.
- (v) **Sumchu**—This dialect is spoken in Kanam, Labrang and Spilo villages.

At present the Kinnaurese have Hindi as the second language.

Of course, many of the grown up women cannot speak in Hindi or they know only a little of it. As the medium for education is Hindi, School going children know Hindi. Men have learnt as they come in regular contact with Hindi speaking people in connection with economic, social, political and religious activities. Besides Hindi many people of upper Kinnaur, *i.e.*, Pooh sub-division and also some of the Kalpa sub-division know Tibetan. Tibetan knowing Kinnaurese in lower parts of Kalpa sub-division and Nachar sub-division are very few in number. English is known only to these who have higher school or college education.

Literacy

Like many other areas of India, literacy is not at all high among the Kinnaurese. Rather, illiteracy has overpowered literacy in Kinnaur. Census of 1951 recorded only 1,599 literates (1,244 males and 355 females) from a total population of 28,972. It means that the literacy was only 5.5% of the total population. According to 1961 Census, the literacy among the Kinnaurese was only 15.35%. The same census returned 26.45% literates among the males and 3.90% among the females. But with the opening of more schools and provision of other facilities, the literacy in this district in 1971 has increased to 26.23%. For both males and females the increase was quite spectacular, 41.22% for males 9.44% for the females. This indicates that the progress of literacy after independence is quite remarkable. A recent report states that "the literacy of males has registered an increase of 51% while the percentage of literacy among the females has increased two half times. In the field of literacy, this district is ahead of Kulu, Sirmur and Chamba districts. Among the females, the literacy percentage is lowest in Himachal Pradesh except Chamba district" (Pandey, 1971 : 51).

Table 5 gives a clear insight about the progress made in education during the period 1960 to 1973. A clear progress can be seen in the number of schools established as well as the number of students admitted. While there were a total of 66 schools and 1,808 students in the whole district, in 1960, this have gone upto 108 schools and 4,089 students in this span of 13 years or so. In these the number of high school increased from 1 to 8 and the high school students from 385 to 1,236. In the same way number of Middle School also increased from 3 with 171 students in 1960-61 to 17 with 969 students in 1972-73. In case of primary and and pre-primary schools also such increase is marked. Further it seems important to point out that there is no college in Kinnaur distridct. The nearest college is at Rampur in Simla district. But for college education students from Kinnaur go to Simla, Chandigarh, Delhi, Dehra Dun and many other places far off from their district.

Before the advent of the modern education, the educational system in Kinnaur was based on traditional system. Usually the kids of the house, particularly the males, were taught reading and writing (in *Tankri*)

TABLE 5. Progress of Education in Kinnaur District, 1960—1973.

Institutions	1960-61 School Stu- dents	1965-66 School Stu- dents	1966-67 School Stu- dents	1967-68 School Stu- dents	1968-69 School Stu- dents	1969-70 School Stu- dents	1970-71 School Stu- dents	1971-72 School Stu- dents	1972-73 School Stu- dents									
High Schools	1	385	4	539	4	NA	5	932	6	1046	7	1174	8	1198	8	1280	8	1236
Middle School	3	171	11	869	12	878	13	837	14	707	15	734	15	812	16	971	17	969
Primary including Pre-Primary Schools	62	1252	78	2386	76	2084	75	1967	80	1725	78	1646	29	1832	79	1975	83	1884
Total	66	1808	93	3794	92	2962	93	3736	100	3478	100	3554	52	3842	103	4226	108	4089

by the head of the household (male). In the villages having monasteries, the Buddhist monks used to teach and preach religious education, particularly during winter when most of the economic activities of people come to stand still due to heavy snow-fall. These Lamas used to visit the remotest parts of the country and preach religious education. But the credit for modern education goes to the foreign missionaries. The Moravian Mission first opened regular schools in Kinnaur, one at Pooh and the other at Chini (present Kalpa, the district headquarters). As early as 1899, Rev. J.T. Bruske, a Missionary of the Moravian Mission, opened a school for the boys at Pooh. And this was the first school in Kinnaur district. But this school was very short-lived. Within a few years, the Mission left Pooh after selling their entire property at a price of Rs. 9,000 to the Salvation Army. But in May 1900, Rev. Bruske and his wife again took up the ambitious plan and opened a school in a small two roomed house in the village Chini (at present Kalpa). The school started functioning regularly with 12 students, all boys. In 1920 the school at Chini was upgraded to lower middle standard. Later on in 1944 it was converted into a middle school, and eight years after it came up as a high school in 1952. The next primary school started functioning in 1914. The absence of a number of schools during the pre-independence period was due to the lack of sufficient experienced teachers in Bushahir and also due to the negligence of the authority. Later on Raja Padam Sing of Bushahir took keen interest in education and established a good number of schools in many villages of Kinnaur. Actually the modern education started in Kinnaur after independence.

Besides schools, there were some institutions run by some private welfare organisations. At Rogi one co-educational *Ashram* school was opened by Thakkar Bapa Kiner Ashram (at present this *Ashram* school is not functioning). Two such Ashram schools, one at Leo (organised by Mahatma Gandhi Ashram) and the other at Natpa (by Pandra Bis Kalyan Ashram), was opened to impart education to the villagers. In a later period two other schools one at Siase and other at Mehbar started functioning. These Ashram schools, at the beginning, were run by Parvatiya Adimjati Sevak Sangh. But now these have been taken over by the Education Department of the State Government. Further to make the people more interested to the employment oriented education, a number of Rural Industrial Training Institute (5) have been opened.

At the beginning there was difficulty in getting local teachers and most of the teachers came from outside Kinnaur. As a result both teachers and the students faced some difficulties. Now, of course, the position has much improved. In 1971-72 it is seen that out of the total 353 teachers 53.54% (189) are the Kinnaurese, the rest of course, have come from outside Kinnaur.

On judging the literacy of the inhabitants of the three villages studied by us, it is seen from Table 6 that at Chango of the total 586 persons belonging to school going age group (age group 5 and above) majority

TABLE 6. Literacy in three villages in Kinnaur

Ethnic Group	TOTAL POPU- LATION (School Going) AGE gr. 5+	ILLITERATE	LITERATE WITHOUT E.S.	E D U C A T I O N A L S T A N D A R D			
				PRIMARY	MIDDLE	MATRIC GRADUATE	PROFESSIONAL (Technical Education)
CHANGO							
RAJPUT	522	344 65.90	77 14.75	87 16.67	10 1.92	3 0.57	1 0.19
KOLI	42	31 73.81	7 16.67	4 9.52	—	—	—
OEG	22	21 95.45	—	1 4.55	—	—	—
All Ethnic Groups	586	396 67.58	84 14.33	92 15.70	10	3	1
KANGOS					1.71	0.51	0.17
RAJPUT	176	105 59.67	25 14.20	36 20.45	7 3.98	3 1.70	—
KOLI	173	128 73.99	20 11.56	23 13.29	2 1.16	—	—
OEG	9	6 66.67	3 33.33	—	—	—	—
All Ethnic Groups	358	239 66.76	48 13.41	59 16.48	9 2.51	3 0.84	—
ROGI							
RAJPUT	272	151 55.52	25 9.19	71 26.10	14 5.15	7 2.57	1 0.37
KOLI	113	79 69.91	16 14.16	18 15.93	—	—	—
OEG	8	6 75.00	2 25.00	—	—	—	—
All Ethnic Grpups	393	236 60.00	43 10.94	89 22.65	14 3.56	7 1.78	3 0.75

(67.58 %) are illiterates while a considerable number (14.33 %) is literates without any educational standard. 15.70 % have primary education. Very insignificant number has education at the level of middle and above stages.

Of the various ethnic groups of this village, it is reflected from Table 6 that highest literacy is present among the Rajput while 65.90 % of the Kanet belonging to the school going age group, are illiterate, the illiteracy, among the Koli is as high as 73.81 % . Peculiar enough that among both these two groups none has education beyond primary level. In case of primary education, it is seen that while 16.67 % of the Rajput in school going age, have primary education, 9.52 % among the Koli have this education.

At Kongos under Zone II, the condition is little different. Here the Rajputs have the lowest frequency of illiteracy (59.67 %) while the Koli have the highest (73.99 %). In this village 16.48 % of its population in school going age, have primary education. Caste groupwise distribution of primary education is such that it is the highest among the Rajputs (20.45 %) and the lowest among the Koli (13.29 %).

At Rogi under Zone III, the frequency of illiteracy in general, is 60.06 %. While the highest number of illiterates is among the other ethnic group (75.00 %), it is lowest among the Rajput (55.52 %). Between the Rajput and the Koli, the primary education is obviously more among the Rajput.

In general, it is seen that the inhabitants of Rogi village have more education and inclination for modern education than the people of the other two villages. Again of the two villages, Chango and Kongos, the latter have more literate persons than the former. The reasons are that the village Rogi is only 6 km. from the District Headquarters, Kalpa, where there are both High and Primary schools. So many young people go to the High school at Kalpa. Kongo though is about 65 km. from Kalpa, is only 6 km. from the sub-divisional Headquarters, Nachar, where there is one high school. So it is also not difficult for the people of Kongos to send their wards at Nachar for middle and higher education. And for this reason the frequency of educated persons is more in Kongos, though is not so as in Rogi. But Chango is far off from Kalpa (about 130 km.) and also quite distance from the sub-divisional Headquarters, Pooh (about 50 km.). Neither this village has any High or Middle School nor it is nearer to any such village where there is such school. As a result the people of this village get very little chance to give higher education to their children; and for this reason the frequency of literacy here is so low. Of course, poverty, lack of proper educational environment and awareness, conservativeness, isolation etc. are still putting hindrances against the progress of education in this district.

Settlement Pattern

In Kinnaur there are 77 villages in the district. The villages are

situated either on the slopes of the mountains or on the valleys. On a somewhat flat land the houses are agglomerated. Most of the villages are situated near the old Hindustan-Tibet Road. As the new Road (National Highway No. 22) runs below the old one, the villages are naturally a little away from the new thoroughfare.

In Kinnaur, the villages can be divided into three types. Type I where villages have been developed round some temple of certain deity as we find in Kothi, Sungra, Rogi, Chirgaon and other villages. The Type II villages have been developed round a monastery such as the villages, Kanam, Sunam, Labrang, Namgia, Sialkar, Lippa and other villages and Type III villages are those which have been developed round a trade centre *eg.*, Kalpa (Chini), Pooh, Nachar.

The cultivable land is usually found to surround the villages. The streams and irrigation channels are found to flow through the village. A number of lanes and bye-lanes run through the various parts of the village after coming out of a main road that links the old or new H.T. Road. The sanitary system in the village is very poor. Streams are the only source of drinking water. These also serve the purpose of other household uses. Besides the temple or monastery, the other important places in a village are some shrines accommodating certain deities and spirits. The place of the disposal of the dead (burial or cremation ground) is situated much below the village, near the bank of some river or stream.

So far as the pattern of the villages of the three culture zones (Zone I, II, III) is concerned there lies some differences. In Zone I most of the villages have monastery instead of temple while in Zone II a temple is the central figure of the village. In Zone III of course, some villages have both temple and monastery. For example the village Sangla has both monastery and temple. The existence of both temple and monastery in the same village is also the peculiarity of some villages of Zone I. Under this zone—Namgia, Pooh and Kanum, Chango and many other villages have both temple and monastery.

The other peculiarity that distinguishes the villages of Zone I from Zone II is the presence of Buddhist shrines *Chorten*, Mane, village gate (*Kankani*) etc. in Zone I villages. These are absent in Zone II villages³.

The ecological difference that exists in the villages of the Zone I from Zone II and III is that while the Zone I villages are mostly devoid of trees as they are situated in semi-arid zone, the villages of Zone II and III have plenty of trees, bushes, etc.

In Kinnaur, the climatic condition has a bearing with the size of the village. As noted in Table 7. Pooh sub-division, which has the lowest rainfall has a large number of small villages with less than 50 household (37.50%) and less than 200 population (31.25%). The villages having between 50 to 99 households and population between 200 to 499 in each

³ The only *Chorten* marked in Zone II is at Nachar village on the roadside near Nachar town.

cover maximum number (40.63 % and 46.88 % respectively). Whereas villages with 100 or more households and 500 and more population have a much lower frequency (21.88 %) in both Kalpa and Nachar sub-division where rainfall is considerably high. In Kalpa for example the number of villages having less than 50 households with less than 200 persons are the least, (17.39 % and 4.35 % respectively), whereas villages having 50 to 99 households and 200 to 499 inhabitants have high frequencies 47.83 % and 43.43 % respectively).

So after analysing the table (Table 7), it can be said that the large sized villages are more in those areas where there is more of rain.

The same condition holds good for the size of the households also. It is seen that the area with less rainfall has smaller household size whereas the same with more rainfall has larger household size. Of course, the size the household depends on many other factors. It is clear from Table 8 that the household size in Pooh sub-division which is somewhat dry area is smaller than the other two sub-divisions (Kalpa and Nachar) where rainfall is more. This means that ecology or climatic condition plays part in shaping the size of the village and also of the household. The size of the household in Kalpa sub-division is larger than that of the Nachar area, though the latter area has more rainfall. This is because Kalpa is the Headquarters of the district and is a fairly more developed area.

Considering the ecological factors it can safely be said that small (—200 population) to medium (220 to 499 population) sized villages are usually present in the mountainous Himalayan areas (Table 9). The higher frequency of a larger (500 and above) sized villages are unlikely in this region. This is true for the three mountainous districts Chamuli, Uttarkashi and Pithoragarh, where 95 %, 96 % and 95 % respectively of the total villages have population below 500. In Ladakh district of Jammu and Kashmir the picture is the same. In Kargil Tehsil 78 % and in Leh Tehsil 73 % of the villages are of this type.

In Kinnaur too, in 61 % of the total villages (77) the population does not exceed over 500. The frequency of this small villages is 78 % in Pooh sub-division and 52 % in Nachar sub-division, but the strength is not so high in Kalpa (only 46 %). In both Nachar and Kalpa sub-divisions villages with population between 500 to 999 have significant strength (33.33 % in both areas) and Kalpa sub-division has significant number (5) of villages with population more than 1000. This is because plain land is scarce in Pooh sub-division, but it is available in other two sub-divisions due to the presence of a number of valleys. Further, Pooh sub-division is more rugged and unkept than the other two sub-divisions and is also semi-arid in nature, But both Nachar and Kalpa regions are in the valleys and get reasonably good rains. Moreover, snowfall is also more in the latter two sub-divisions and least in the former.

In the middle and upper Kinnaur where there is Buddhism, as one enters the village, one has to cross the village gate or *Kankani*. It is a

TABLE 7. Distribution of villages as per density of population and households in different climatic zones.

District/Sub-division	Avg. Annual Rainfall (mm.)	Total Villages	No. of Villages Acc. to No. of Households				No. of Villages Acc. to No. of population			
			Below 50	50-99	100- 199	200 & Above	Less than 200	200- 499	500- 999	1000 & Above
Pooh sub-division	400	32	12	13	6	1	10	15	5	2
Kalpa sub-division	515	23	4	11	5	3	1	10	8	5
Nachar sub-division	705	22	8	6	6	2	2	9	7	3
Kinnaur district	540	77	24	30	17	6	13	34	20	10

TABLE 8. Size of the household in different climatic zones.

Sub-division	Average annual rainfall	Villages	Average size of the household
Pooh	400	Chango Namgia	5.02 5.40
Kalpa	515	Rogi Duni	6.98 6.26
Nachar	705	Kongos Sungra	5.52 6.00

TABLE 9. Distribution of villages with different sizes in different zones.

District/Sub-division	Total inhabited Villages	Villages inhabited by population									
		Less than 200		200-499		500-999		1000-			
		No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Kinnaur	77	13	16.88	34	44.16	20	25.97	10	12.99		
Pooh	32	10	31.25	15	46.88	5	15.62	2	6.25		
Nachar	21	2	9.52	9	42.86	7	33.33	3	14.29		
Kalpa	24	1	4.17	10	41.67	8	33.33	5	20.83		

wooden gate, the roof and the inner walls of which are painted with images of the Buddhist saints and various other objects. On the right side of the *Kankani* a little away one finds a *Mane*, a small tomb having some magical power. The *Mane* is surrounded by a number of small pieces of slates and pebbles on which *Om Mane Padme Hum* is inscribed.

The narrow bridle path that passes through the *Kankani*, will lead one to the village proper. The houses are arranged either on the slope or on an approximately flat land. Often the village is found to be divided into a number of small hamlets. Atleast two hamlets for the two major ethnic groups are found in almost all villages. The hamlet inhabited by the Rajputs or Khosias (Kanet) is known as *Khosiaring* while that peopled by the Koli (*Chamang*) is called *Chamraling*. Usually the *Khosiaring* is situated in a more convenient place, on the upper part of the village and close to the road. This is true for Rogi (Kalpa sub-division) and Namgia (Pooh sub-division). Sometimes the two hamlets are quite apart from each other as in Duni village (Kalpa sub-division). But again, the village Sungra has two parts—firstly Sungra or Thanang and the other part is Bara Sungra. While the latter part is occupied by the Rajput along with some Badhi and Lohar, the former one is inhabited solely by the Koli. But in this village, both the parts are almost on the same level, by the road-side and are equipped with similar amenities.

The *Khel* or the status group among the Rajput are also found to be distributed in particular hamlets. On the two hamlets Yokganing and Balganing of the village Kongos, the former is shared by the *Orang Khel* while the latter one by Maorang of *Orang Mech Khel*. But in some other villages no such distinction is found. As in Kruze hamlet of Duni, all the three Khels, *i.e.*, Orang, Maorang and Waza are found to reside side by side.

Sometimes it is seen that some hamlets of a village are occupied by particular lineage or lineages. The same lineage or lineages are not found in other hamlets. In Bara Sungra area of the village Sungra which is occupied mainly by the Rajputs, there are four hamlets having particular names besides two unnamed hamlets inhabited by the Badhi and the Lohar. The Rajput occupied four hamlets are—Dumpalling, Mazalling, Baucha and Zitpalling. These four hamlets are occupied by distinct lineages. The hamlets, Dumpalling is inhabited by the lineages, Charas, Peochan and Tangian Mazalling by Kocha, Pailace, Barantu and Chankum; Baucha by two lineages only, Suklya and Somiyan and the last one, Zitpalling by Turas, Topach and Kotal. So it is seen that a single lineage is not seen in more than one hamlet.

Not only the lineage, it is also seen that hamlets are often peopled by the close relatives. In Dumpalling hamlet of Sungra, there are four Tangian households. They are closely related to 13 households of Domesh lineage who are also closely related. In Chango village the *Pradhan* (headman of the village panchayat) and his close relatives live

in *Gumpha* hamlet and the *Sarpanch* (Chairman of the Naya Panchayat) and his close relatives live in Changmath hamlet.

Ethnic composition, households and population of the settlements

As stated erstwhile, the villages in this Himalayan district of Kinnaur are mostly multi-ethnic. Though there are several ethnic groups found in Kinnaur, at least two ethnic groups, the Rajput and the Koli, are usually found in all the villages. But in general, two other ethnic groups, the Badhi or Auras or Tharkhan and the Lohar are also found in most of the villages. No one can find a village in Kinnaur dominated by these two groups or even a village where considerable number of these people reside. The other ethnic group, the Nangalu, are found only in Lower Kinnaur, in Nachar Sub-division (Zone II) and southern and south-eastern part of Kalpa sub-division (Zone III). But they are not found in Upper Kinnaur which covers Pooh sub-division and north-eastern part of Kalpa sub-division. The Kinnaur villages are in general numerically dominated by the Rajputs. Next to them come the Koli.

For the purpose of study we carried out our survey work in three villages, Chango, Kongos and Rogi situated in Zone I, Zone II and Zone-III respectively (Table 10). A total population of 1,508 live in these three villages. Of these population 43.63 % live at Chango, 26.72 % at Kongos and the rest 29.64 % at Rogi. Again of the total population of 1,508, 72.36 % are Rajput, 24.33 % Koli and the rest 3.31 % belong to other ethnic groups. It means that the Rajputs form the major bulk of the population of the three villages studied. Next to the Rajput come the Koli who also form quite a substantial population.

As we come to the population of individual ethnic groups, we see that of the total of 1,091 Rajputs, 53.62 % live at Chango, 17.97 % at Kongos and the rest 28.41 % at Rogi. That means the largest number of the Rajput live in Chango. The next higher number live in Rogi. In all the three villages, the total Koli population is 367, of which the largest number (52.87 %) live in Kongos. Their next higher strength is found at Rogi where 34.60 % live. The lowest frequency of the Koli population is found at Chango.

So far as the other ethnic groups are concerned there are only 50 souls of which the largest number (54.00 %) live in Chango. The next higher number (26.00 %) live in Kongos. Rogi has the lowest number of population.

In three villages studied there are a total of 268 households. These 268 households are distributed in the following manner. Chango has the highest number of households with 48.88 % of the total households of the three villages. Then comes Kongos with 27.24 % households. Rogi has the minimum number of households amongst the three villages.

In the villages which we have studied under this project, the Rajput have the highest contribution in the formation of the population of these

TABLE 10. Ethnic groupwise distribution of households and population.

Ethnic Groups	C H A N G O						K O N G O S						R O G I						A L L V I L L A G E S								
	Household			Population			Household			Population			Household			Population			Household			Population					
	No.	%		M	F	T	%	No.	%		M	F	T	%	No.	%		M	F	T	%	No.	%		M	F	T
Rajput	116	88.55		290	295	585	88.91	40	54.79	100	96	196	48.64	40	62.50	156	154	310	69.35	196	73.13	546	545	1091	72.36		
Koli	10	7.63		23	23	46	6.99	30	41.10	97	97	194	48.14	22	34.38	62	65	127	28.41	62	22.13	182	185	367	24.33		
OEG	5	3.82		11	16	27	4.10	3	4.11	6	7	13	3.22	2	3.12	6	4	10	2.24	10	3.73	23	27	50	3.31		
Total	131	100.00		324	334	658	100.00	73	100.00	203	200	403	100.00	64	100.00	224	223	447	100.00	268	99.99	751	757	1508	100.00		

villages. Next to the Rajput come the Koli. At Chango 88.55 % of the total households and 88.91 of the total population are held by the Rajput. Next to the Rajput come the Koli, who occupy 7.63 % of the total household and 6.99 % of the total population of the village. The rest are held by the OEG.

At Kongos, the Rajput are distributed in 54.79 % of the total households and cover 48.64 % of the total population of the village. On the other hand, the Kolis cover 41.10 % of the total population of the village. OEG as usual, hold a very insignificant strength. At Rogi the Rajputs are distributed over 62.50 % households and they cover 69.35 % of the total population of the village. The Koli, on the other hand, occupy 34.38 % of the total households and 28.41 % of the total population of the village. The population of other ethnic groups is very small.

On an examination of the proportion of sexes in the population of the three villages, we see from Table 10 that of the combined population of all the three villages (1,508) the number of females (50.20 %) is slightly higher than that of the males (49.80 %).

So far as the sex-ratio is concerned, the number of men per 1000 women in the combined population of all the three villages is 992. The lower number of men is only found in Chango where the sex-ratio is 970 men per 1000 women. But in other two villages the proportion of men is higher than the women. Here sex-ratio is 1,015 and 1,005 men respectively per 1000 women.

In case of the individual ethnic groups, the Rajputs have almost equal number of men and women. But in case of the Koli and the other ethnic group the sex-ratio being 984 and 852 men respectively per 1000 women.

Here it is important to mention that according to 1961 Census (Table 11) the population of Chango was 622 (310 men and 312 women), that of Kongos was 369 (186 men and 183 women) and that of Rogi was 623 (402 men and 221 women) (Pal Singh 165 : 254-256). That means after a decade (1970-71) the population of Chango and Kongos has increased but that of Rogi decreased significantly. As we have not heard of any mass migration or of any plausible reason for population decrease, it is doubtful that Rogi had 623 inhabitants in 1961.

TABLE 11. Area, household and population, 1961.

Village	Area in acre	Household	Population		
			Male	Female	Total
Chango	344	142	310	312	622
Kongos	249	68	186	183	369
Rogi	369	61	402	221	623
All Villages	962	271	898	716	1,614

As mentioned earlier this category 'other ethnic groups' includes all the minor (numerically speaking) ethnic groups, such as the Lohar, the Badhi, the Nangalu and the Nepali. As already stated, only a few households of each of these minor groups are found in Kinnaur villages. There are a total of 10 such households in all the three villages with a total population of 50 (Table 12). Of these 10 household 5 (50.00%) are in Chango, 3 (30.00%) in Kongos and 2(20.00%) in Rogi. Again of these 10 households 2 belong to the Lohar, 2 to the Badhi, 3 to the Nangalu and the rest 3 to the Nepali community.

Again of the 4 ethnic groups, 3 (the Lohar, the Badhi and the Nepali) are found in Chango. Kongos has only the Nangalu. But in Rogi the Badhi and the Nepali are found to reside.

Population distribution by age-group

The age-groupwise distribution of the population belonging to various ethnic groups (excepting these belonging other ethnic groups) in all the three villages shows that the majority of the population of both the sexes at Kongos and Rogi, belong to the age-groups 15 to 59 (Table 13). But these having age below 15 or above 60 are not significant in number. But at Kongos and Rogi, persons below 15 are more.

It is seen that at Chanog, among the Rajput, age-group of 5 to 9 has the highest strength. But among the Koli of this village age-groups, 5 to 9 and 10 to 14 have the highest number of individuals. Among the other ethnic groups age-groups below 5 to 9 and 25 to 29 hold the highest number.

At Kongos, among the Rajput the age-group of 5 to 9 has the highest number of persons. The same is the condition for the Koli. But among the other ethnic groups the highest frequency goes to the age group of 4 and below.

At Rogi, the Rajput and the Koli have the highest frequency in the age-group of 5 to 9. But among the other ethnic group it is seen that the highest frequency for the individual age group goes to the age-group of 30 to 34.

When we compare the frequency distribution of population in different age-groups belonging to the same ethnic group living in three different villages. It is seen that among the Rajputs of all three villages, highest number of persons belong to the age-group of 5 to 9. Similar is the case with the Koli of Kongos and Rogi. In case of Koli of Chango, age-group of 5 to 9 and 10 to 14 bear the highest number of persons. But different picture is given by the other ethnic groups. While in Chango age-group of 4 and below 5 to 9 and 25 to 29 have the highest frequency, at Kongos age-group of 4 and below share this. On the other hand, at Rogi age-group of 30 to 34 has the maximum number of souls.

While age-groupwise population belonging to both the sexes is examined from Table 13, it is seen that among the Rajput of Chango

TABLE 13. Age-groupwise distribution of population in three villages studied.

Age Group	C H A N G O						K O N G O S						R O G I														
	Rajput			Koli			Rajput			Koli			Rajput			Koli											
	Per- sons	M	F	Per- sons	M	F	Per- sons	M	F	Per- sons	M	F	Per- sons	M	F	Per- sons	M	F									
0 to 4 Years	63	34	29	4	2	2	5	3	2	20	8	12	21	6	15	4	2	2	38	17	21	14	8	6	2	1	1
5 to 9 "	71	33	38	6	3	3	5	1	4	28	15	13	30	12	18	1	—	1	47	26	21	19	11	8	2	1	1
10 to 14 "	52	28	24	6	1	5	1	—	1	22	12	10	22	14	8	—	—	—	35	19	15	18	5	13	1	1	—
15 to 19 "	51	34	17	5	3	2	2	1	1	19	6	13	12	7	5	1	1	—	30	12	18	14	11	3	—	—	—
20 to 24 "	55	23	32	3	1	2	1	1	—	19	10	9	13	6	7	3	1	2	25	16	9	13	7	6	—	—	—
25 to 29 "	51	29	22	2	1	1	5	3	2	15	12	3	25	13	12	2	1	1	34	19	15	9	4	5	1	1	—
30 to 34 "	49	22	27	4	3	1	2	1	1	16	8	8	16	7	9	—	—	—	20	9	11	6	3	3	3	1	2
35 to 39 "	27	15	12	1	—	1	2	—	2	19	12	7	12	10	2	—	—	—	14	6	8	2	2	—	—	—	—
40 to 44 "	25	12	13	4	2	2	1	1	—	10	6	4	4	1	3	—	—	—	8	3	5	7	4	3	1	1	—
45 to 49 "	29	11	18	2	1	1	2	—	2	4	—	4	9	8	1	—	—	—	15	7	8	5	2	3	—	—	—
50 to 54 "	28	15	13	2	1	1	—	—	—	4	—	4	6	2	4	—	—	—	11	5	6	7	1	6	—	—	—
55 to 59 "	25	16	9	2	1	1	1	—	1	8	5	3	6	3	3	—	—	—	13	6	7	5	2	3	—	—	—
60 +	59	18	41	5	4	1	—	—	—	12	6	6	18	8	10	2	1	1	20	11	9	8	2	6	—	—	—
Total	585	290	295	46	23	23	27	11	16	196	100	96	194	97	97	13	6	7	310	156	154	127	62	65	10	6	4

while the highest number of men belong to the age-group of 4 and below 15 to 19, among the women at the age-group of 5 to 9 has the highest strength.

Among the Koli of this village, while the highest number of men belong to the age-group of 60 and above, the highest number of females belong to the age-group of 10 to 14. Among the other ethnic groups, the highest number of men belong to the age-group of 4 and below and 25 to 29 and the same for the women as found in the age group of 5 to 9.

At Kongos, the Rajput men have the highest number in the age-group of 5 to 9 but in the case of the women both 5 to 9 and 15 to 19 age-groups have the same. In this village while the highest number of the Koli male population is found in the age-group of 10 to 14, the same for the female is found in the age-group of 5 to 9. On the other hand, among the other ethnic groups men, the highest number is found in the age-group of 4 and below but among the women both 4 and below and 20 to 24.

At Rogi, the Rajput men have the highest frequency in the age-group of 5 to 9, but among the women both 4 and below and 5 to 9 age-groups have the same. Among the Koli men while age-groups of 5 to 9 and 15 to 19 possess the highest number of persons, age-group of 10 to 14 among the women have the highest strength.

MATERIAL CULTURE

The peculiar Himalayan climate and the geographical position of Kinnaur have made it a typical area of transition from monsoon clad thick pine forest belt to bare rocky arid zone. Hence quite evidently, the varying ecological settings have conditioned the way of life of the people of this area particularly the various aspects of their material life. The reflection of these ecological variations is clearly visible in the material culture of the people of Kinnaur living in different geographical zones.

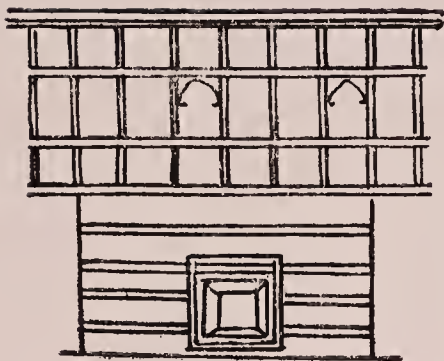
Thus, it would be worthwhile to examine these variations in the traits and articles of material culture of the semiarid (dry) and monsoon (wet) areas, *i.e.*, Zone I, Zone II and Zone III respectively.

House

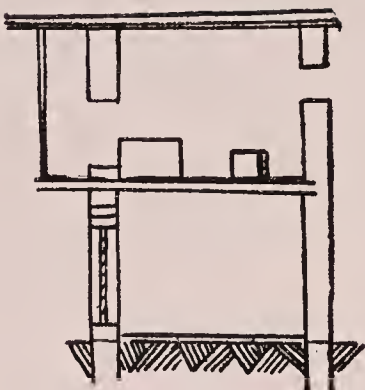
The Kinnaurese who live in peculiar Himalayan ecological set up, have their own shelter which protects them from the severe cold weather of the high Himalayas. The houses of the Kinnaurese are built according to means, ecological settings and status of the person concerned and more particularly according to the traditional norms of the ethnic group. The affluent Rajputs construct spacious two to three storeyed houses. On the other hand, small single storeyed houses are constructed by the low income group people particularly by the scheduled castes. In order to minimise the expenditure, these people construct low walled houses and use less costly materials like wood.

Secondly, the construction of houses depends on the availability of materials in the particular geographical area in Kinnaur. In Zone III wood is abundantly used for walls, roof and floor as it is available in plenty. In Zone II it is also used in good quantity but definitely less than that of Zone III whereas very little of wood is used in Zone I due to its scarce availability and high cost. So, is the case with slate stone which is used in Zone III mainly as roofing material by the richer section. But the same is of rare use in Zone II as it is not much available. Due to abundance of wood in Zone II most of the houses are wholly made of wooden planks. Ecology and climate have conditioned the type of houses. In Zone I people do not use wood and slate stone for roofs as these things are neither easily available nor cheaper. One peculiar thing is that though Kinnaur experiences heavy snowfall, yet unlike the houses of many snowfall areas most of its houses have flat roof. The inhabitants clear the snow as the same accumulates on the roof.

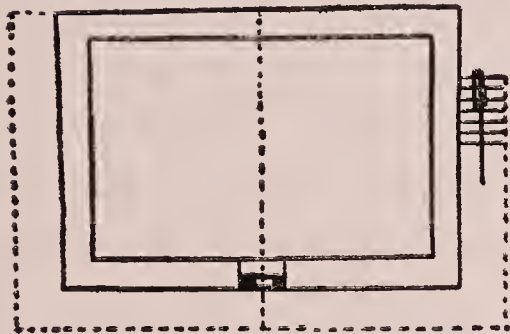
Thirdly, houses are built according to the status of the ethnic group. Hence only the means is not the main factor for good houses. During the regime of the King of Bushahr State, the *Domang* (the Badhi and the Lohar), the *Chamang* (the Koli) and the other castes other than the



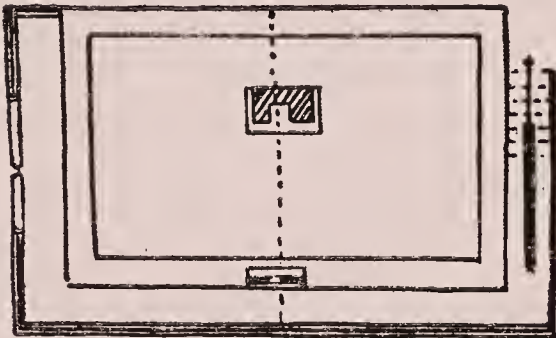
Front Elevation



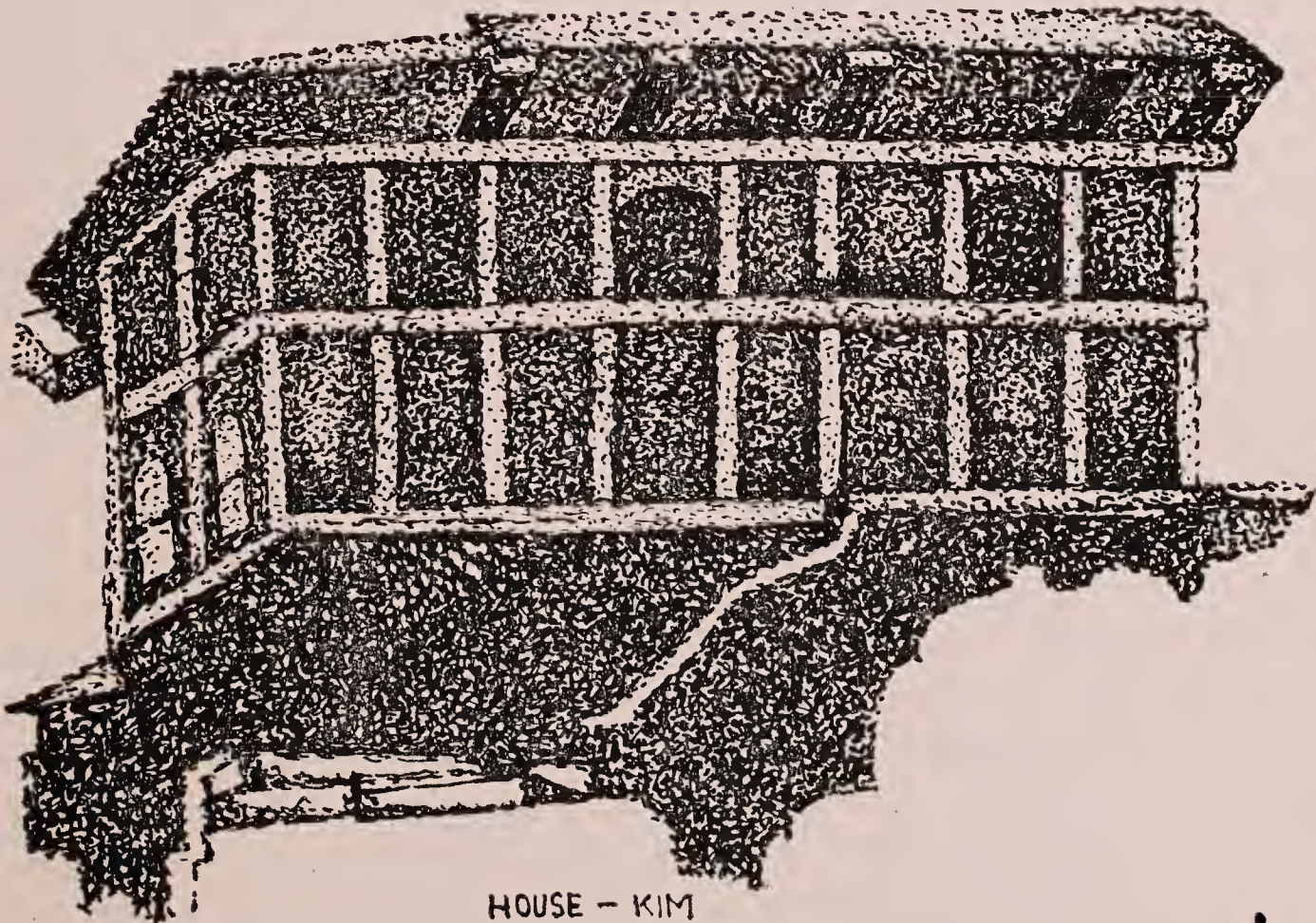
Section on A-B



Ground Floor Plan



First Floor Plan



HOUSE - KIM

Rajputs were not allowed to construct the houses with higher walls and steep high sloped roof made of slate. They were permitted to build either flat roofed houses or house with low sloped roof of wooden planks or made of slate.

In all the zones, houses are generally single storeyed. As wood is easily available, so two and three storeyed houses are constructed in in Zone II and III and also in parts of Zone I (upto Pooh). Generally, each storey has one or two rooms. But these days, people are constructing 3 to 4 rooms on the 1st and 2nd floor in order to host relatives, friends and Government personnel. Due to communication facility, movement of local people has somewhat been accelerated since 1965. Hence, in well-to-do Rajput houses, there is provision for guest-cum-drawing room.

Throughout Kinnaur, houses are rectangular in shape. In Zone II roof is with two slopes but in Zones I and III this is flat. In the former area wood and slate stones are used as roof materials as these are available abundantly. Moreover in this region, wooden beams are very much in use for the construction of walls. The walls are made of stone and wooden beams. These beams act as a sort of frame and hinder because no mortar is used. In Zone I and III on the other hand, the roof of the house, in general, is flat and made of *Bhojpatra* (leaf of a particular plant) and mud. But in Zone III the weaker section sometimes have two sloped roof made of slate. The walls of the houses in Zone I are made of mud and stone chips. But in Zone III the wooden beam alternates with a number of rows of stone blocks. In Zone I if the ground floor is used for living purpose, even then, that is made of clay. But in Zones II and III, the same is made of wooden planks. Moreover, the entire region is situated on the higher altitude, hence the place is very cold. Consequently, no regular windows or ventilations are provided in the room except in some cases where small apertures are provided. This is only to avoid the entry of the chilly wind in the room. But these days, for sanitation and health reasons, they are making windows or are keeping ventilaters for fresh air.

For the construction of the new house, first of all selection of site is approved by the village deity in Zone II and Zone III and by Lama in Zone I. As in Zones II and III every walk of life of the people is controlled by village deity, their site of the house should essentially be approved by the Devi or the Devta. In order to select a suitable site, a clod of earth from each proposed site, is taken and kept near the palanquin of the deity in the temple. The bearers of the palanquin of the deity perform a dance and then the deity is requested to grant its approval for the most suitable site for house construction. As the palanquin tilts towards a particular clod of soil, then the site which is represented by that clod, is considered to be approved by the deity as the most suitable one. But in Zone II, the site is selected by the Lama after judging the soil and consulting the religious scriptures. Sometimes, suitable

site is selected in the following way. At first the person who wants to build the house, brings handful of earth from different locations. Then a boy aged below 5 is selected to touch any of these earth samples. The boy of below 5 is selected because, such a kid is considered as pious and without any feeling of virtue and vice. The boy then is allowed to touch the earth sample uttering the name of the god. Before the boy touches, the person who will build the house, utters the name of the god and pray for a good site. The same land is selected as house site whose earth sample is touched by the boy.

The house site is also selected by consulting *Jantri* (Hindu almanec) or *Lato* (Tibetan almanec) or getting the approval of the deity by the ordeals like *Grokch* and *Mathas* and also by worshipping earth Goddess (*Rim* or *Mating* or *Dharti*). The priest, or sometimes Brahman worships the deity by uttering *mantra* (incantations) and offering *halwa*, *poltu* etc. and giving feasts to guests.

After performing *puja*, the foundation stone which is sometimes known as *Ganesh*, is laid to a depth of about 2 to 3 feet. This is always laid on the right side of the main door. In *puja*, they offer *poltu*, *Halwa* and wine to the Mother Earth and the household deity (*Kimsu*) and construction materials available there. Again at the time of fixing the main door (*Durang*) they worship the *Kimsu* and offer *poltu*, *halwa* and wine to ensure peace and happiness to the family.

Generally, walls (*doal*) are raised to a height of about 7 feet or so in all the regions. As the walls are complete, roof (*mathang*) is made. Mixture of cowdung and earth is used for plastering the walls from inside. The main living room serves the purpose of kitchen (*Khanalani Kim*) so as to keep the rooms warm. An iron tripod over the fire place in the centre is kept and food is cooked. But during summer, they make provision for separate kitchen space. Previously, there was no provision for bath room. But these days, they keep a small space for this purpose in the newly constructed houses. The family god *Kimsu* is kept in a carnicie of main room in every house.

The first entrance into the new house is celebrated by a worship of the household deity (*Kimsu*) and also village deity (*Deshang Kulaj* or *Sir*) with offerings. The worship is either presided by the Brahman or the Rajput priest (in lower Kinnaur), or by the priest (central Kinnaur) or by the Lama (in upper Kinnaur). The worship is followed by a feast given to the relatives, friends *pardeshang* (neighbours) and *deshang* (villagers) people.

Generally, in every house, there is one bed room (*Yakim*). But some houses have two to four bed rooms. It is important to mention here that throughout Kinnaur, during winter, people live in the inner apartment (*gunsa* or *panthang*) of the ground or first floor of the house for the protection against the very piercing fast wind. As soon as summer comes, people spread their articles and come out on the 1st or 2nd floor known as *yarsa* or *byoling*, the open room.

Agriculture

The Kinnaurese are mainly agriculturists though they involve themselves in some other important occupations like the rearing of goats and sheep. Since time immemorial they are doing cultivation on the narrow strips of the slopes of the mountain. The elevation of the agricultural land varies from 4,000 ft. to 13,000 ft. above mean sea level.

Kanda land is less fertile and situated at the higher altitude in comparison with other two types of land. Consequently, only one crop is reaped from *Kanda* land throughout the year, whereas two crops are produced in both Neol and Lugin or village lands.

All agricultural products are categorised into two types of crops, *i.e.*, *kharif* and *rabi*, *kharif* crops are *maize*, *china*, *kadu*, *ogla*, *phafra bathu*, *kangni* potato, *tulsi*, etc.

But in Zone I, *maize*, *ogla*, *phafra*, *bathu* and potatoes are grown.

Rabi crops include wheat, barley, buck wheat, cheston (black) pea, etc. This is common throughout the Kinnaur.

Plough cultivation is in practice. The seeds are generally broadcast. Because they have the feeling that sowing in line does not yield much. All the agricultural operations are done between April and October.

These days the Kinnaurese are becoming very well versed in agricultural know-how. Since independence more particularly after 1960, they have been bidding good bye to the old and indigeneous method of agriculture by using improved seeds, fertilizer spraying of insecticide, etc. In 1961-62 while they used only 31.76 quintals of improved seeds and 92 quintals of fertilizers, in 1972-73 they have used 97 tons of each of those items.

In spite of the fact that they are using improved seed and fertilizers and also that they have modern agricultural know how, yet the production from their cultivable land has decreased from the past as evidenced from the table depicted from a Himachal Pradesh Government Report.

TABLE—14. Per hectare yield of principal crops (in quintals)

Crops	1968-69	1972-73
Wheat	8.67	5.20
Rice	9.95	8.40
Maize	13.53	11.27
Barley	8.21	5.34
Millets	3.90	2.27
Pulses	2.62	2.32
Potato	41.71	41.74

To give relief and to perpetuate the fertility of land as well as to grow more, they follow the pattern of rotation of crops. Besides, they use composed and chemical fertilizer as well as local manure simultaneously.



Plough - Stal



-Yoke - Shkul



Kilta - Koting



Hoe - Goling

AGRICULTURAL IMPLEMENTS

In Kinnaur soil erosion is the main cause of low productivity due to heavy loss of fertile soil. Thus, this erosion poses a serious threat and a grater problem due to the steep nature of the terrain. Thus the entire area requires effective scientific soil conservation. Terrace cultivation practised in this region is considered as an effective measure to prevent soil erosion. The terraced land is made in order to check the loss of fertile soil of the agricultural field. Besides, agriculture department is pursuing for bench terracing, afforestation and contour plantation of fruit plants in order to check soil erosion.

The time for sowing and reaping varies with the elevation of agricultural land. *Rabi* is sown from the middle of September to the middle of December and is harvested in lower altitudes in April and even in higher altitude by the end of June. *Kharif* crops are sown from March to the middle of July and harvesting is done from September to the end of November. In the colder parts particularly, the *kanda* land remains snow-clad for a long time. So in those places only one crop is grown. There *rabi* and *kharif* crops are sown and reaped together. Sowing is done in September-October and harvesting in August-September.

Agricultural Operational Calender

Month	Agricultural Operation
January	— No agricultural operation as field is covered by snow.
February	— —do—
March	— Manuring of wheat or other crops sown during October-November.
April	— Manuring continues. Preparation of field. Sowing of potato and barley.
May	— Irrigation to the standing crop and weeding.
June	— Irrigation to crop. In lower valleys harvesting wheat and barley. Potato is ready.
July	— Harvesting of wheat and barley. Threshing of wheat and barley starts. Preparation of land for <i>kharif</i> crop. Ploughing and manuring start. Sowing of <i>ogla</i> , <i>phafra</i> , <i>cheena</i> , <i>koda</i> and maize start.
August	— Threshing and winnowing continue. Sowing of <i>ogla</i> , <i>phafra</i> , <i>cheena</i> , <i>koda</i> and maize.

September	— Irrigation in the fields of <i>ogla</i> , <i>phafra</i> , <i>cheena</i> , maize and <i>koda</i> .
October	— Harvesting of <i>ogla</i> , <i>phafra</i> , <i>cheena</i> , maize and <i>koda</i> . Ploughing and manuring. preparation of field for wheat and barley. Threshing & winnowing of harvested crops.
November	— Threshing and winnowing of harvested crops sowing of wheat and barley.
December	— No agricultural operation. Fields remain covered with snow.

This agricultural calender is observed throughout Kinnaur with some variation. This slight variation is because of the change of the climatic condition in different altitudes. Besides, Zones II and III are in the semi-monsoon area whereas Zone I is in the semi-arid area. Thus upper Kinnaur (Zone I) requires more irrigation than the middle and lower regions. Secondly, some cereals like *chullai*, *tulsi* and *koda* are mainly grown in lower Kinnaur.

A distinct change has come in Kinnaur regadrng the utilization of land for agricultural purposes after independence. In 1965-66 the total area covered for food and other types of crops was 10,691 hectares which increased to 11,100 hectares in 1972-73. While in 1965-66, 1,346 hectares of land were utilized for wheat, in 1972-73 the area covered for wheat was increased to 1,607 hectares. Similarly for barley the area covered in 1965-66 was 2,460 hectares it was 2,708 hectares in 1972-73. Millets were cultivated in 5,346 hectares in 1965-66, the same were sown in 5,476 hectares in 1972-73. In this way it is seen that in case of all sorts of food crops the area covered has been increased.

Rotation of Crop

Rotation of crop is practised in order to retain the fertility of land rotation of crops in upper and lower Kinnaur is as follows :

Kanda Land

Upper Kinnaur	Middle Lower Kinnaur
Zone I	Zones II / III
1st Year—Buck wheat sown in November, harvested in July-August.	1st Year—wheat then <i>ogla</i> (a) Sown in November harvested in June-July. (b) Sown in June-July harvested in September-October.

2nd Year—Wheat sown in November-December harvested in August-September.

2nd Year—*phafra* then potato or the land is kept free.

(a) Sown in March-April and harvested in June-July.

(b) Sown in June-July harvested in September-October.

3rd Year—Barley sown in December or March-April harvested in July-August.

3rd Year—Wheat is repeated sown in November-December

Some of the Kanda land are double cropped land.

4th Year—Buck wheat is repeated sown in November-December
In this region, *kanda* is one cropped land.

Gaon Land

1st Year wheat then *ogla*.

(a) Sown in October-November, harvesting in June-July.

(b) *Ogla* sown in July-August. Harvesting in October-November.

Same as in Upper Kinnaur.

2nd Year—Barley then maize.

(a) Sown in November-December or March-April harvested in May-June.

(b) Maize sown in May-June and harvested in September.

3rd Year—Wheat is repeated and sown in October-November.

Village land in both the regions is double cropped land.

Neol Land

The rotation of crops on *Neol* land is done in the following way. The crops are grown mainly during monsoon rains.

1st year *Koda* then barley.

(a) *Koda* is sown in March-April—harvested in August-September.

(b) Barley sown in September-October and harvested in June in the following year.

2nd year after harvest of barley in June, *tulsi* is sown and harvested in November. After that land is kept free for four months till March. The *Koda* is repeated.

Thus rotation of crops is done in the same piece of land. This is done so that the land can regain its fertility and yield better and more

crop. The new improved agricultural implements are now made available to the Kinnaurese through government agencies. But some of these implements, which have been supplied in the region, are not much effective probably because, these are designed for the plains areas. The old type of agricultural implements which are still in use are designed and repaired by the local artisans (Lohar caste).

Horticulture

In the district of Kinnaur the people are accustomed to horticulture. Different varieties of fruits such as apple, apricot, pear, grape, peach, nuts etc. are being produced there since remote past. But these were all inferior local variety and the people there did not take much of interest in developing these fruit trees. Only in recent years, particularly after independence, the government and thereafter the local people felt the potentialities for the development of horticulture in this district. Hence both the government and the local people took various steps for the development of horticulture, particularly for growing fruit trees of dry type, in Kalpa and Pooh sub-divisions, production of apple throughout the district except some parts of Pooh sub-division also improved considerably.

The development of horticulture received a thrust from the government in the First Five Year Plan. For carrying out research and extension work, a number of institutions have been set up in the First and the subsequent plans. Dry Fruit Research Station was established in 1954 at Boktu (Kalpa Sub-division) which was later on converted into a station of Intensification of Research on Dry Fruits and Nuts in 1960. A Dry Fruit Research sub-station started functioning at Giabong under Pooh sub-division during 1960. The research works on various fruits like almond, walnut, peanut, hazelnut, pistachidnut, apricot, plum, prune, apple, berries, cherries etc. have been undertaken in order to improve their quality and the rate of yield. Improved varieties of some of these fruits have been brought from Afghanistan, USSR and other countries. Mobile units have also been set up in the Third Plan period with a view to imparting modern know-how about the improved varieties of the fruits.

At present people are much interested in the fruit development. Every year they are showing more and more interest about the horticulture. According to the estimates given by the Horticulture Department, total area of fruit plantation at the end of the year 1969-70 was 919 hectares of which 587 hectares or 63.87% were under apple, 225 hectares or 24.48% were under dry fruits and nuts, and the rest under other temperate fruits. In 1972-73, 1,230 hectares have been brought under horticulture and from the fruit plants 3,760 tonnes of fruits have been produced.

The only difficulty the people are facing is the lack of proper trans-

port and marketing facilities. As there is no regular and well developed transport network, the people are unable to market their fruits comfortably. Particularly those who do not have large number of trees are definitely in trouble. They are now depending wholly on the outside agents who procure their fruits at a less price. Sometimes due to lack of transport the fruits go waste.

Irrigation

Irrigation of field is essential for harvesting good crop particularly in such parts of the Himalayas where there is very little of rain. Kinnaur is such a place where irrigation is partly done by the water of the melting snow and scanty monsoon rain. Upper Kinnaur, *i.e.*, Zone I falls in the semi-arid zone. So monsoon rain does not reach there. Even if it rains, the quantity of the rain water is very meagre and is not sufficient for irrigation. Hence main source of irrigation is melted snow water through *Khuls*. All have to irrigate their fields. As a result, some clashes are reported. Previously, village councils used to decide regarding the distribution of water for irrigation through channels. Now the Gram Panchayat arranges for the distribution of water to the agriculturists. For smooth distribution of water for irrigation, specific date, time and hour are allotted to the agriculturists. So, they work even at night to irrigate their land as their turn comes. Mainly the women are engaged in this work.

In Lower Kinnaur particularly in Kalpa area, people irrigate their land by taking channel water. They are benefited by the monsoon rain also. But in Nachar area, people mainly depend upon monsoon rain. Because, there are only a few *khuls* and water channels.

Agricultural Ceremonies

In the Lower and Upper Kinnaur, some of the festivals are connected with various agricultural operations. The Kinnaurese observe certain rituals connected with agriculture in which they propitiate different gods and goddesses in order to overcome various evil forces which damage the crops. Thus in Buddhism dominated Upper Kinnaur, they observe *bonkar* festival in the month of April before starting of agricultural operations. On the 13th day of the 4th month—*Niba* (April—May), all the Lamas of the village Chango gather in the *lakhang* (monastery) wherefrom they move throughout the agricultural fields of the village. In this procession the Lamas blow *sankh* and play on other musical instruments followed by the Lohars beating drums. All along the Lamas sprinkle holy water in the agricultural fields to ensure better crop throughout the year.

Before harvest, these people observe *namgan chua* in the *lakhang* (monastery) of the village. They worship *kunjok*, god for better harvest.

After this festival, they start harvesting the crops in the village. In the identical way in the Hinduism dominated area in lower Kinnaur some more festivals, which are connected with agriculture are celebrated. Due to variation in altitude, date of a particular ceremony also varies from region to region. *Bishu* is observed in the month of *chaitrang-Baisakang* (March-April) before starting of ploughing.

Porchang is observed before the harvest of barley. This is celebrated in the month of Baisakh (April) between 10th and 20th day of the month. After this festival harvest of various crops one after another, starts. *Rangchin* is the festival celebrated before 20th of Bhadra (August-September). This is performed before the harvest of the crops like, wheat, barley etc. in the *kanda* land. On the day fixed for the worship, villagers go to *kanda* land where they worship *devta* before sun rise. After a week or so, reaping starts in *kanda* land.

Neok phasal is observed for every new crop before the said new grain is consumed. But it is interesting to mention that in case of maize and rice, this *neok phasal*, is not observed as both the cereals have been introduced only two decades ago.

Hunting

The Kinnaurese, particularly the Rajputs (Kanets) are very fond of keeping lovely skins of some of the wild animals. These days, they use those skins to beautify their drawing room or bedroom. Generally, they keep it on their bed or chair. They bring skins of wild sheep, goat and such other animal. But hunting in general is not at all significant in their life.

There is no community participation in hunting as is found in case of the various tribals of the plains areas. During summer, while they go to *kanda* land, they try to kill those animals. Some of the animals such as *goral* and Himalayan blue sheep, are killed for their meat value. But this is practised only in that part of Kinnaur where there is forest (upto Pooh), and naturally hunting is not practised in Hangrang valley as this area is devoid of any forest.

These days, the number of those animals have much decreased, mainly due to deforestation and mass killing of these animals.

Sometimes, they kill local birds to roast and make their dishes tasteful. No ceremony is connected with hunting.

Fishing

Fishing is rarely practised throughout the district. This is because, the turbulent rivers and tributaries of this district carry ice cold water where ordinary fish cannot survive. As a result, the Kinnaurese are not much aware of fishing. Despite this, an exotic species of fish, the brown trout was introduced in the Baspa river at Sangla in 1961-62 by the

Fishery Department of Himachal Pradesh Government. Since then fishes are found in lower Kinnaur.

The fishing has not yet got much economic value to the Kinnaurese to whom its importance is very insignificant. As a result rarely a fishing implement or trap is found in the Kinnaurese household.

Animal Husbandry

Owing to the peculiar ecological setting of Kinnaur district, some mixed breed of yak, cow and oxen are kept as domestic animals. These animals are suited for agricultural purpose in the higher altitude. As Kinnaur has agriculture based economy so the importance of these cattle cannot be ignored. Besides this, a large number of sheep and goats are also kept for getting wool, butter and meat which are essential items for the protection from the cold. By the coarse wool obtained from the hair of sheep and goats, the Kinnaurese make mattresses and blankets of different kind. Whereas from medium and fine wool they make, after spinning and weaving in the village itself, garments for the ladies and gents are made.

The following domestic animals are in the district : *Yak*—In the higher altitude *yak* (male) and *breeme* (female) are substituted for ox and cow respectively. Because these are sturdy, hardy and suited for cold region.

These animals are more in use in Zone I and some parts of Zone II. But the cross-breeding of *yak* and cow *choru* or *dzo* and *dzomo* are found throughout Kinnaur. The *dzomo* gives more milk than cow, yet the dairy farming is nowhere found in Kinnaur.

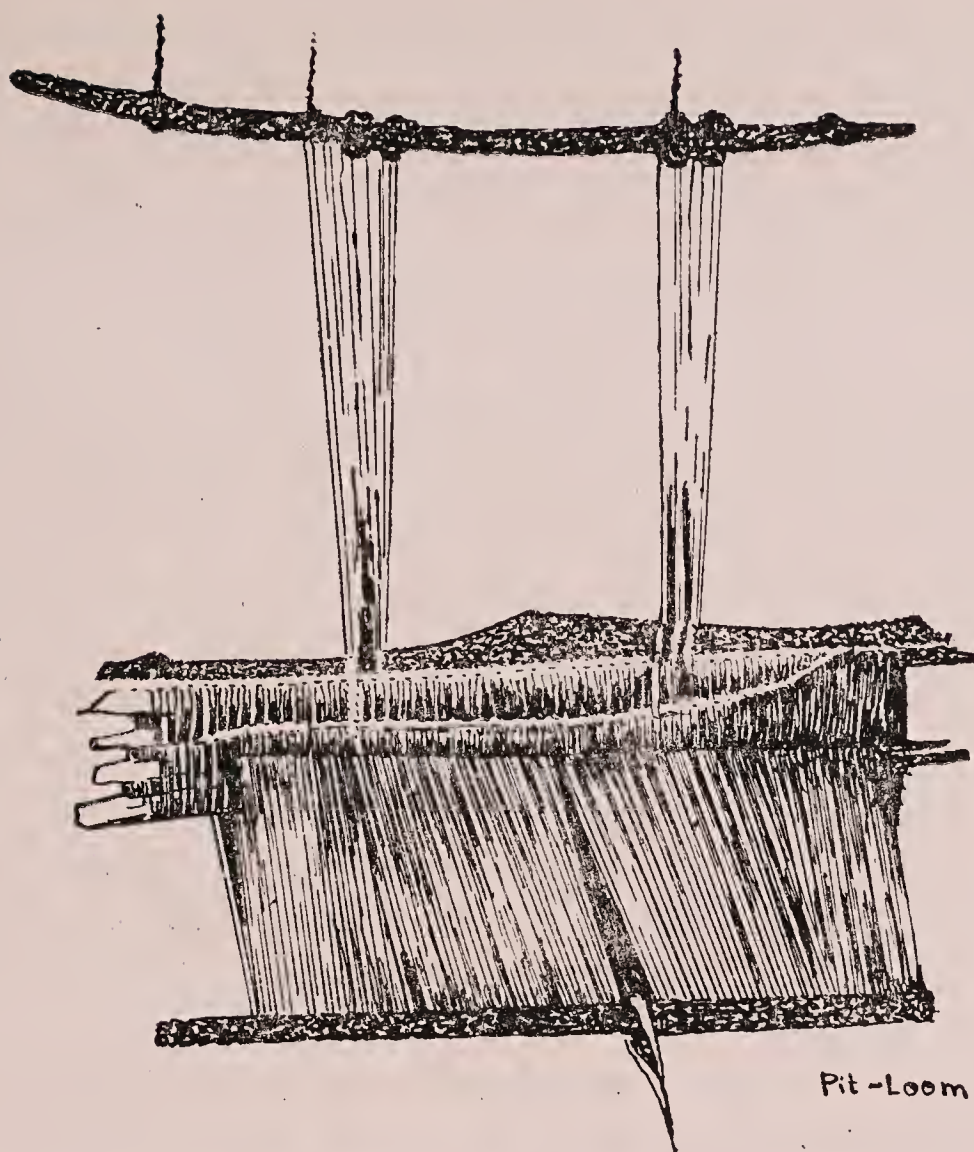
Thus, yaks are more important in the region. So, the Animal Husbandry Department of Himachal Pradesh has provided three *yak* bulls for cross breeding. One *yak* breeding farm at Chhitkul in Sangla Tehsil has also been established. The crossbreeds of this farm are distributed to local people.

Sheep

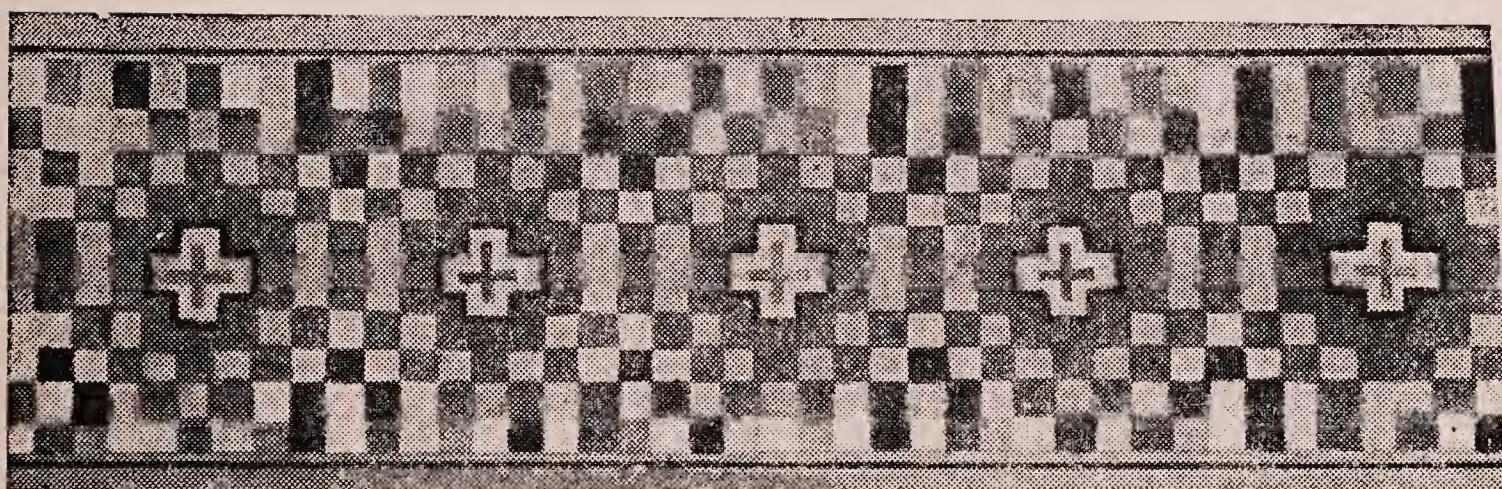
In Kinnaur, sheep have got much importance due to their manifold utility. Other than the agriculture, the major occupation of the inhabitants is sheep rearing. Hence, a flock of sheep is found almost in every household. The Kinnaurese derive a number of benefits such as wool, meat, milk and skin. Besides, sheep are used as pack animals for transportation of goods in the hilly terrain.

Local breed of sheep are not very well productive. Hence, these are being improved by cross-breeding with the rams imported from Australia, Germany, Spain and USSR. These are distributed among the villagers at a subsidized rate. It is reported that the villagers are responding to this programme.

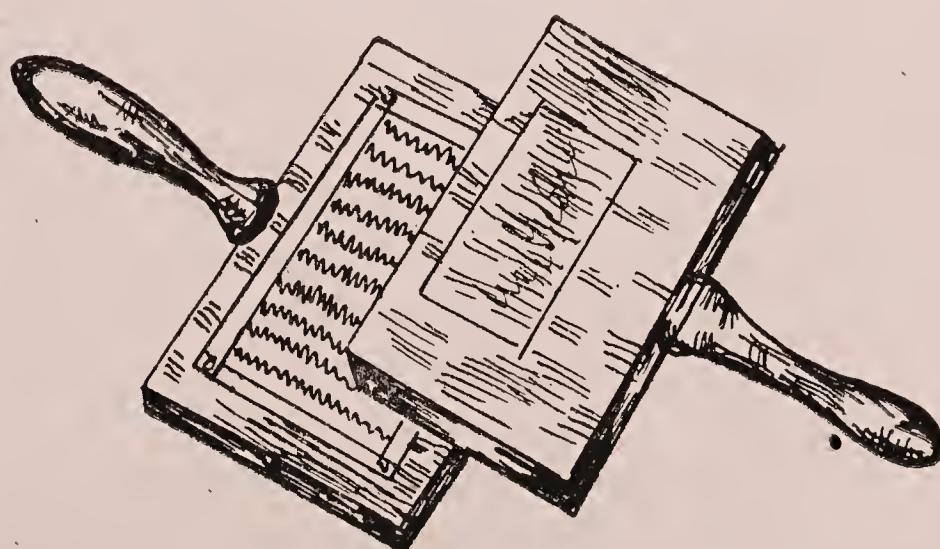
Sheep breeding farm at Karchham was opened where Russian and



Pit-Loom



Kattu



Kangi - Thukse

WEAVING

Spanish Marino were imported in 1961-62. During the breeding season, these rams are lent out to the breeders from different centres at Gangi, Sangla, Peo and Bhabha and for this nothing is charged. The wool, produced from these breeds is much better in quality and yields greater quantity than the local sheep.

Goat

The benefits derive from goats are similar to those of the sheep. Goats provide milk, mutton, skins and hair. This hair is used for making mattresses and ropes etc. A special variety of goat called *chigu* provides *pashm* the best variety of wool. This variety is available only in Tibet. A goat breeding farm at Sangla was opened in 1960. But as the border between Tibet and Kinnaur was closed soon, so *chigu* goats were not available in Kinnaur. Thus, later on this farm ceased to operate.

Goats are considered as very destructive animals causing soil erosion. Consequently, the policy of the government was to replace goats by the rearing of sheep in order to reduce the goat population. Because the Sutlej river is the catchment area of Bhakra Dam where silt may pose serious problem due to soil erosion caused by goats.

The people of Kinnaur reacted against this policy of the government and made representations from time to time since 1966, as goats and sheep are indispensable for them.

Horse, Mule, Donkeys and Ponies

Kinnaur district has mountainous tract throughout where cart or such other vehicles cannot be driven. Moreover, all the villages are not interlinked by road. Thus, these animals are useful mostly for transportation of goods as well as for journey. The number of donkeys are more followed by that of horses and mules.

The number of these animals increased mainly in Kalpa and Pooh sub-divisions from 1962 to carry luggages for the military and para military personnel.

The Fodder Problem and Migration

The flocks of goats and sheep are sent to graze in high hills in the Alpine pasture during summer. They are also let loose to graze in the pasture land (*ghasins*). The sources of fodder available here are inadequate. During winter the flocks of goats and sheep are migrated to the lower parts of Himachal Pradesh and also in the adjoining parts of Uttar Pradesh.

The disease of mouth and foot are common in the district. Generally, animals are suffering from debility and weakness due to malnutrition. For the necessary veterinary aid to the live-stock, there are several hospitals and dispensaries throughout the district run by the

Himachal Pradesh Government. Local people have been utilising these facilities.

Poultry Farming

Previously this farming was not in vogue. But after 1960, this was introduced in the region. Now, many Kinnaurese have started poultry farming. But it is still inadequate. Government is providing loans and has set up poultry extension units to help and guide the interested persons.

In Kinnaur district livestock plays a very important role in economy of the district. And for this reason both the government and the local people are much interested in these animals. As a result the number of the livestock has started increasing from 95,529 in 1956 to 1,22,961 in 1972. This shows the healthy sign of development of the Kinnaurese livestock economy.

Table 14 shows a clear picture of the number of different types of livestock and poultry birds in Kinnaur in 1966 and 1972. The table shows that the number of total livestock was 1,12,664 in 1966. which was increased to 1,22,961 in 1972, *i.e.*, more than 10,000 animals has been increased in Kinnaur in 6 years. But the number of poultry birds has much been decreased in this district. From 5,758 in 1966 it has come down to 2,747. The reason of this decrease is not much apparent. May be the severe cold climate or certain diseases or disliking of the local population for accepting the poultry birds might be the cause of this decline in the number of the poultry birds in Kinnaur.

When the variation in number of livestock between 1966 and 1972 in different Tehsils of Kinnaur is examined, it is revealed that the number of livestock has been decreased in Nachar and Pooh Tehsils but increased in Kalpa Tehsil and Sangla and Morang sub-Tehsils. The number of poultry birds has been increased only in Nachar where, at present, there are, 1,672 birds. But in 1966 the number was 1,546. Besides Nachar, nowhere the number of birds has been increased.

Of the various animals, the significant increase in number from 1966 to 1972 is seen only in case of sheep. From 58,414 sheep in 1966, the number has come to 64,623 in 1972. The good number of increase is also noticeable in case of goats which has increased by 5,013 over the number present in 1966 (28,372). But animals like cattle, horses and ponies, donkeys, mules and other animals suffered from little decrease. The only new introduction are nine bullocks. Bullocks were absent in 1966.

TABLE 14a. Livestock and animal husbandry number of livestock Tehsilwise

Particulars	Year	Nachar	Kalpa	Sangla	Maorang	Pooh	Total
A. Livestock							
Cattle	1966	8,795	3,284	4,938	2,718	2,829	22,564
	1972	8,976	2,796	5,094	2,607	2,629	22,102
Buffaloes	1966	—	—	—	—	—	—
	1972	9	—	—	—	—	9
Horses & Ponies	1966	67	276	185	67	388	983
	1972	99	178	207	137	326	947
Donkeys	1966	128	261	323	200	848	1,760
	1977	110	270	333	217	685	1,615
Mules	1966	13	11	1	3	483	511
	1972	8	—	5	11	253	277
Sheep	1966	20,788	8,852	11,113	7,921	9,740	58,414
	1972	17,999	11,628	15,376	10,193	9,427	64,623
Goats	1966	7,727	4,895	4,506	3,615	7,629	28,372
	1972	6,841	8,246	6,370	4,630	7,298	33,385
Others	1966	32	25	3	—	—	60
	1972	—	—	3	—	—	3
Total Live-stock	1966	37,550	17,604	21,069	14,524	21,917	1,12,664
	1972	34,042	23,118	27,388	17,795	20,618	1,22,961
B. Poultry							
	1966	1,546	1,498	1,431	737	546	5,758
	1972	1,672	266	540	62	207	2,747
Total A and B	1966	39,096	19,102	22,500	15,261	22,463	1,18,422
	1972	35,714	23,384	27,928	17,857	20,825	1,25,708

DRESS AND ORNAMENTS

Dress

In Kinnaur, for the protection of body, people require to wear woollen clothes throughout the year. The climatic conditions such that even these days they use woollen dress round the year. Of course, there are a few who sometimes put on woollen garments from September-October to May-June. These days they also wear cotton dresses mainly during summer, *i.e.*, from July to September as during this period days are somewhat warmer particularly in the semi-arid area of upper Kinnaur. In this zone (Zone I) the climate gets warmer at this part of the year due possibly to the lack of vegetation which has turned the mountains into bare rocks. Absence of rain may be another factor. But Zones II and III do not get so much warm as forests are there and these zones also experience monsoon rain during July to September.

The Kinnaurese generally wear traditional dress decorated with beautiful design. The design and fashions of their dresses reflect their taste and appreciation for beauty. The climatic condition compelled them to wear woollen garments. For the purpose of their dress they require wool and for this wool they developed two distinct and very important economic pursuits—one trade with Tibet and the other rearing of the sheep and goat. In their trade with Tibet, wool was a very important item of marchandise. A good amount of wool was imported. Secondly, one of the main reasons for rearing of sheep and goat is wool. A good amount of wool is yielded for local consumption from the domestic sheep and goat.

Men's Dress

The Kinnaurese have their own dress. The dress for both men and women have many distinctive features.

1. **Chhuba**—long woollen coat upto or even below the knee. This is almost resembling *achkan*. *Chhuba* is of two types, one having buttons and the other with tape, previously, buttons were made of 'four anna coin'. These days plastic buttons are used.

2. **Suthan**—woollen trousers. This is made slightly loose with design in the lower edge. These days full pant and cotton trousers are also in use.

3. **Chamu Kurti**—sleeveless woollen jacket.

4. **Kameej**—woollen shirt. Generally is made of local cloth. Recently, shirts made of cotton cloth, terylene, etc. have come in use.

5. **Thepang**—cap made of woollen and velvet cloth. This is a common

head dress for men and women throughout Kinnaur. It is also known as 'Bushahari topi'. On the festive occasions, they stuck flower in their caps.

6. **Gachhang**—both the men and women wrap their waist with Gachhang. This crimson coloured waist band is made of wool or cotton having a length of 5 to 8 yards.

Both *thepang* and *gachhang* are common in both men and women.

Women's Dress

1. **Choli**—Short or full sleeved blouse is made of woollen cloth and velvet. If made of cotton cloth, it is known as *kameej*.

2. **Dhoru**—A sort of woollen *sari*. Women wrap themselves in *dhoru* like *sari*. It is generally $4\frac{1}{2} \times 1\frac{1}{2}$ yards. Both costly and cheap of *dhoru* are made by them. In costly *dhoru*, the embroidered border is carved throughout the length upto the heels. The borders are given beautiful pattern mostly in red, green, orange, skyblue and scarlet coloured thread.

3. **Chhamli (Pattu)**—An indigenous shawl made of woollen cloth. This is used by the women folk and its two ends are held together near the breast by silver pin known as *digra*.

4. **Salwar & Kurti**—Recently, young Kinnaurese girls have started wearing *salwar* and *kurti* made of cotton cloth. During May to September they wear this dress throughout Kinnaur. These days, young women wear *salwar* under *dhoru* in lieu of petty-coat particularly in Zone II and III. Women do not wear brassiers or other under garment. All women use *thepang* (cap) and *gachhang* tied at waist to give support to *dhoru*. Both are used by men also. These are common throughout Kinnaur.

Woollen cloths are made by Kolis. Wool or woollen thread is supplied by the Rajput or by other ethnic groups. Then the Koli spin and weave. During winter, in leisure hours, every body spins. They get wool from their sheep and goats. Previously, they were getting wool in abundance and at a cheaper rate from Tibet when the border was open for the trade. But after the sealing of the border, wool became costlier and the supply was less. What they get from local sheep and goats is not sufficient. Thus they are attracted towards cotton cloth. But due to its ecology and extreme climate cold one has to wear woollen cloth. Thus, they sometimes purchase woollen cloth, wool, cotton woollen *pattu*, etc. either from *khadibhandar* or from other shops.

Clothes are stitched by the local Koli mainly by hand and they are known as *suis*. But these days, many tailors have come from Kangra area and other parts of Himchal Pradesh. These tailors have been stitching in their own fashion for the last 10-16 years. Thus these days, shirts, bushshirts, short coat in lieu of *chhuba*, blouse in lieu of *choli* etc. are being used now.



Spona — Shoe



Chhuba—Woollen Coat



Thapang — Woollen Cap

Ornaments

The Kinnaurese women are very fond of ornaments. These are mainly made of silver. Gold is less in use. Almost all the ornaments are made by the local Lohar (Domang) caste. These Lohars are very expert in making artistic design. Their artistic excellence checks the flow of money outside the region. Gold and silver are imported from the plains. Many of the ornaments are quite heavy and this indicates that they invest their savings in ornaments. Some of the ornaments are also purchased from Rampur.

Ornaments are made of the same design with slight variation throughout the Kinnaur. Men folk do not use ornaments except ring and sometimes gold ear ring (murki). Following ornaments are used by the women.

Ornaments of the Head

Chak—It is made of silver; It has round disc with decorative *meenakari* of blue, yellow, green and red colours over it. This worn by the women whose husbands are alive. Average weight 30 to 40 grams.

Shatab—A silver band worn on the head. The weight varies between 100 and 120 grams.

Tancal or Phiraza—It is a type of silver band for the forehead. Weight about 100 grams.

Zuthi—A heavy bunch of silver flowers hung at the end of the hair. Weight 300 to 400 gms.

Ear Ornaments

Kantai—In each ear 6 to 8 such ear-rings are worn, the weight of each ring is 10 to 15 gms. on an average.

Khul Kantaie—Instead of *kantai* rings, *khul-kantaie* may also be worn in the ears.

Khul Kantaie a ring which is systematically fixed in a piece of embroidered cloth. It hangs over the ears from the hair. Average weight of a set is 150 to 200 gms. of silver.

Jhumku—A type of silver top with silver chain of which one end remains tied to the cap. Weight is 90 to 100 gms.

Mool-u—A bunch of silver flowers hanging from the hair over the ears. Weight is between 200 and 250 grams.

Nose Ornaments

Khundoch—It is made of gold weighing 10 to 15 gms. A small size gold ring hangs between the nostrils.

Laung—A nose ring of gold with a red or blue *nagina* fixed in the centre. Weight is 5 to 7 gms.

Balu—It is a large ring made of gold weight of which is about 20 gms.

Bulak—It is a comparatively bigger nose ring which is worn through the hole made in the cartilage partitioning the nostrils.

Neck Ornaments

Kanth malang—This is a silver necklace with 1 to 5 gold beads. Its weight is 10 to 20 gms.

Chandra-malang—This is a silver chain made of garland containing beads *pheroza*, *moonga* and old silver coins of four annas sometimes silver one rupee coin.

Trimani—This is a necklace having 3 large gold beads. Weight is about 10 gms.

Shatungma—This is a necklace with a big square, hexagon or pentagon silver box like structure with a lid. Its frontal side is of silver and is engraved while the backside is made of copper. *Tawiz* (talisman) is often kept in this ornament. Weight vary from 100 to 150 gms.

Patkachang or Kachaong—It is a silver ornament worn close round the neck. Weight is 100 to 140 gms.

Shulickcha—Necklace of moonga and some other precious stones.

Hand Ornaments

Kagun—These are silver or gold rings having blue or red glass or *moonga* or *pheroza* fixed on it. Sometimes, gents also wear in their fingers.

Dhaglo—This is silver bangles. These are of two types single and double. Single *dhaglos* are used by the unmarried girls whereas double and triple bangles are worn by the married women. Weight varies from 400 gms. to over 1000 gms.



Trimani - Necklace



Mool-U



Digra - Sari-clip



Tamuch

ORNAMENTS

Ornaments for toes

Polrij—This is flat silver ring worn on the toes of left and right legs by the women, weight is less than 30 gms.

Dress Ornaments

Digra—This is a decorative silver *sari*-clip-cum-sari-pin used by the females to hold the two ends of *dhoru* or *chhanli* (shawl). Weight varies between 30 and 40 gms.

Tamuch or Pechu—This is also used for holding the two ends of the *dhoru* or *shawal* near the left shoulder. It is made of silver weighing 50 gms to 100 gms.

This may be mentioned here that the above ornaments are used throughout Kinnaur. But in Zone I, more particularly from Pooh onwards, bead necklaces made of *moonga*, *pheroza* and beads of red, blue, green coloured stone are more popular than other ornaments.

UTENSILS AND FURNITURE

In Kinnaur house, a good number of utensils and furniture are not found. Modern furniture and utensils are also not available in most of the houses except in the houses of the enlightened people and also those who live close to military and para-military installations. In the latter case some modern utensils are found in Kinnaur houses which they got from the military and para-military people.

From Gerard's account a good idea can be gathered about the utensils and furniture of these people during the middle of 19th Century. "The household furniture consists of little more than some keloo chest for keeping grains, raisins and appricots, a wearing apparatus which is very simple, spindles for twisting worsted, back basket, skin for holding flour, butter and spirituous liquors, brass and iron cooking pots, wooden plates, a stone mortar for pressing oil from the kernel of the appricots, a hand-mill a lamp or two, a smoking pipe, a tea-pot, and sometimes a few china cups and saucers. Bedsteads are almost unknown, and the earth is broken granite, unfit for pottery, so they keep water and oil in vessels of different shapes and sizes, made of juniper wood, with iron hoops, and resembling those called cogs by the Scotch High Landers (1841 : 85).

Previously a group of the Rajputs known as the Waza, were preparing earthen pots. In course of time, they left this work when wooden utensils came into being. These days some potters have come Bilashpur and Mandi districts. Nowadays, every household keeps earthen pots.

Brass and bronze utensils are costly and are mostly used in one kitchen. They purchase these utensils from Rampur. Aluminium wares are also found in the Kinnauri kitchen because the brass and

bronze utensil are dearer. Besides this, cheap enamel wares are also coming in use. These are easily available in the local market in Kinnaur. Many Kinnaurese purchase this in the plains areas while they migrate down at lower altitudes.

Wooden utensils are also used in each and every household. These are made by local carpenters. Wooden vessels (*zom*) are very common in Kinnaur. This is used for bringing water from the stream. These days *zarriken* is used in its place after 1962. Kinnaurese got these from military and para-military personnel. In lieu of wooden *karchhi* (*dobang*), aluminium *karchhi* is generally used. Kinnaurese are very fond of saltish tea. That is being prepared in *dongbo* (tea churner) made of wood. Since the introduction of sweet tea, its importance has lessened.

A few silver utensils are also found in well-to-do households. These utensils are *kargyul* (silver cup) and *kusarbo* (a jar for wine).

The following utensils are in common use throughout Kinnaur.

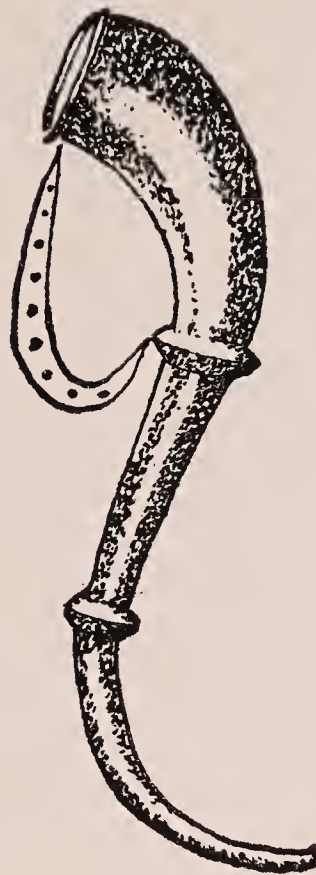
Hindi	Kinnauri dialect
1. cup (silver)	kargyul
2. jag (jar for wine silver)	musarbo
3. ghara (wooden vessel for bringing water)	zom
4. karchhi (wooden)	dobang
5. (tea churner)	dongbo
6. karchhi (iron)	karchhi
7. parat (iron)	parat
8. tava (iron)	ron pann
9. chimta (iron)	chimto
10. patila (brass)	dig
11. small patila (brass)	digach
12. thali (brass)	nang
13. katori (brass)	nangach
14. lota (brass)	lotri
15. parat (brass)	kunal
16. karchhi (brass)	thumbu
17. chamach (brass)	khyot
18. glass (brass)	glass
19. gagar (brass)	gagri
20. dhakkan (brass)	dhakona
21. tashla (brass)	chakthalu
22. ghara (earthen)	gor
23. handia (earthen pot)	handia

Furniture

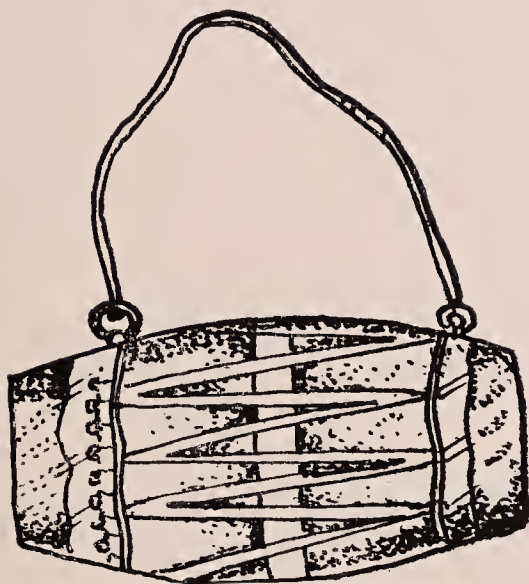
Previously cot was rarely in use. People sleep on the wooden floor. Khera or *kherach* (mat of goat's hair) and *pakpa* (skin) were used for matting purpose as well as for sitting. In some well-to-do



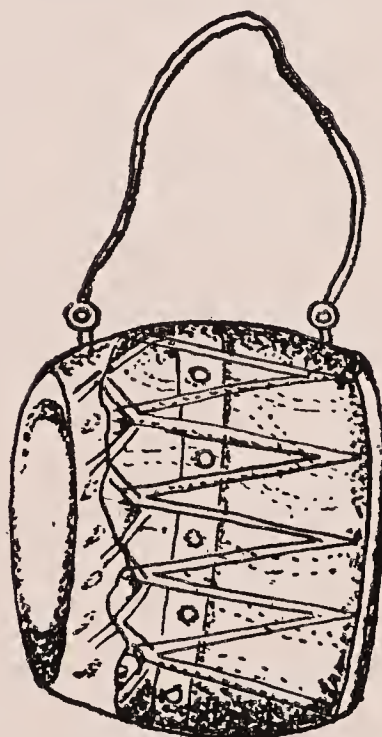
Shannal



Runshing - Narsingha



Dol (drum)



Bam - Big Kettle drum



Dakru



Hudki

MUSICAL INSTRUMENTS

houses carpets and *durries* were kept. These days, different type of cots, chairs and tables (wooden and steel) have come in use.

Wooden boxes and trunks are used for keeping cloths and garments. Some other articles are found in the houses in which are *kote* (wooden chests) for keeping grains and appricots wooden lamp, stone mortar and pestle for extracting oil. Grinding is generally done in *garat* (water-mill) and occasionally in *hasgo-tang* (hand-mill). Weaving apparatus made of wood, is found in the houses of the Koli. This is very simple.

ECONOMIC STRUCTURE & CHANGE

TRADITIONAL ECONOMY

Very little is known about the traditional economy of the people of Kinnaur district. Some idea may be formed from some old travelogues, gazetteers, etc. But undoubtedly agriculture, trade and sheep rearing were their traditional occupations (Raha, 1977 : 6). Fraser, as early as 1820, reported that the production of this area was salt, wool, woollen cloth, dried grapes and currants, and the seeds from the cones of a peculiar species of fir which are sweet like almonds, and various other things besides very little of grains from their agricultural field (1820 : 263), and in exchange of all these they used to take cereals of different kinds from the neighbouring, more fertile areas. They used to rear many sheep and cattle add a great deal of wool both raw and woven, was exported. In remoter parts, soorajee or yak were also kept. They used to breed this animal in large numbers and this was their best riches next to their crop. They also had a breed between yak and common hill cow which are locally known as dZo and dZomo. Ponies are called *gounts*, together with asses and mules, were likewise breed and kept, and all these as well as sheep and goats were used as the beast of burden (*op.cit.* 263-264).

Man-power : Working and non-working units

Except trade with Tibet, which was stopped in the early sixties, the other traditional occupations of the Kinnaurese-agriculture, rearing of sheep, goat and other animals and woollen industry still form the major sources of livelihood. Along with these some more sources have been added in the recent days, such as the service, labour, business, horticulture, etc. which have somewhat compensated their economic suffering mostly caused due to the stoppage of the trade. With the other side of the international boundary.

In the Himalayan area people have no option but to work hard in order to earn their breed. Land is small and unfertile, climate is hostile, terrain is rugged and unkempt, and the season for work is not the 12 months but only 7 months as the five winter months keep the whole area snow-covered. So for their survival they have to fight against so many adverses. Moreover for the thin population (in Kinnaur the density of population per square kilometre is only 8 persons), as soon as an individual becomes somewhat grown up, he or she engages himself or herself in various works. Yet the paucity of work, insufficiency of land and many other factors compel some of them to remain unemployed. As a result, these unemployed persons have to remain dependent on their relatives. That means the earners have to feed a very good number of dependents. In Kinnaur, the number of such non-worker dependents is significant. A considerable number

of the non-working dependents rely on the income of the earning forces. So to begin with the present economic structure of the Kinnaurese it seems important to assess the working force and dependents among the Kinnaurese.

Further, in the past, the men used to remain busy with trade and livestock and the women with agriculture. Now with the stoppage of trade, the men have come to the agricultural field and have relieved the women.

In Table 15, a comparison has been made on the variation in the frequency of workers and non-working among the Kinnaurese in two census periods 1961 and 1971.

It appears from Table 15 that the frequency of the Kinnaurese workers has decreased from the 1961 which has resulted in the increase of the non-workers proportionately. While the frequency of workers in the total population of Kinnaur was 67.17% in 1961, it decreased to 60.52% in 1971 thus increasing the strength of the non-workers from 32.83% in 1961 to 39.48% in 1971. In case of the male and female workers and non-workers also, the same feature is noticeable. Though the decrease in the strength of the male workers from 1961 to 1971 is not so marked, but the same in case of the female workers, is definitely significant. Here the frequency of the female workers was 66.85% in 1961; it reduced to 54.88% in 1971 causing a reduction of about 12.00% in ten years. That means a considerable number of female Kinnaurese became unable to be employed in 1971. The reasons are probably that firstly in many cases the women are declining to undertake manual work and secondly men are, in general, preferred to the women in constructional and developmental work. The other probable reason may be that more and more women are preferring household works than agricultural works. But the most important reason seems to be the decrease in the size of holding. Due to the gradual increase of monogamy, which ultimately leads to the separation amongst the brothers, the landed property in a polyandrous household gets divided. With the division of landed property the size of the holding definitely decreased. And this smaller land holding does not require so much of manpower as it required earlier, and as the womenfolk are the main agricultural labour force, so a good number of them are deprived of work. When four brothers having four acres of land, used to live in a common household with their common wife, the latter and the somewhat grown up female children of the household, used to work in those four acres of land; then the female labour force was never surplus. All the female labour force could be absorbed in various works. Now if the brothers marry separately, establish separate households, and get their joint property divided, as is done in these days, then each household has one acre of land in each. Naturally, that small holding will not require all the female labour force. Thus there will always be the surplus of female labour force. It can therefore, be said that the decrease of

TABLE 15. Workers and non-workers in Kinnaur, 1961-1971.

Census	Frequency	Total Population			Total Workers			Total Non-Workers		
		Person	Male	Female	Person	Male	Female	Person	Male	Female
1961	No.	40,980	20,808	27,172	27,528	14,043	13,485	13,452	6,765	6,687
	%	100.00	100.00	100.00	67.17	67.49	66.85	32.83	32.51	33.15
1971	No.	49,835	26,407	23,428	30,158	17,300	12,858	19,677	9,107	10,570
	%	100.00	100.00	100.00	60.52	65.51	54.88	39.48	34.49	45.12

the polyandrous unions has resulted in the increase of non-worker females.

In the past, a good number of male working force used to remain busy in trade with Tibet. Now with the stoppage of this trade, this majority of the surplus male working force is trying to get absorbed in agriculture, and thus has relieved many females from their agricultural work, so we see the decrease of the number of the female workers by 12% (approx) in ten years.

Of the working and non-working forces in Kinnaur as indicated from Census of 1961, the former is definitely more in number than the latter. The same is true for various ethnic groups. But the workers and non-workers among different ethnic groups do not show much variation amongst themselves. From Table 16, it is apparent that more or less two third of the total population of all the ethnic groups are workers, roughly one third being non-workers. It is also seen that only in case of the Kinnaura, the frequency of the female workers is more than that of male workers, whereas reverse is the case with other ethnic groups, *i.e.*, in their cases the number of the male workers is more than that the female workers. The reason for this is that in case of the Kinnaurese, as they are agriculturists, their men and women work in cultivable land, but their women work more in number than the men. On the other hand, as the other ethnic groups have specialised occupations and as these occupations are mostly meant for the men, so in their case the number of male workers is more than that of the female workers.

The number of workers in the households of the village does not remain the same. It is variable. In some households the number of workers is one but in others, it is more than one.

TABLE 16. Frequency of workers and non-workers among different scheduled tribes and scheduled castes in Kinnaur.

Ethnic Groups	Frequency	Total Population			Total Workers			Total Non-workers		
		Person	Male	Female	Person	Male	Female	Person	Male	Female
<i>Scheduled Tribe</i>										
Kinnaur	No. %	25,628 100.00	11,667 100.00	13,961 100.00	16,980 66.26	7,239 62.05	9,741 69.77	8,648 33.74	4,428 37.95	4,220 30.23
<i>Scheduled Caste</i>										
Koli	No. %	8,655 100.00	4,234 100.00	4,421 100.00	5,722 66.11	2,837 67.01	2,885 65.26	2,933 33.89	1,397 32.99	1,536 34.74
Lohar	No. %	1,206 100.00	678 100.00	528 100.00	816 67.66	473 69.76	343 64.96	390 32.34	205 30.24	185 35.04
Badhi	No. %	872 100.00	450 100.00	422 100.00	574 65.83	301 66.89	273 64.69	298 34.17	149 33.11	149 35.31

DISTRIBUTION OF WORKERS IN KINNAURESE HOUSEHOLDS

In Table 17, the distribution of workers in the households of the three villages studied or rather distribution of households on the basis of the number of workers has been shown. It appears that in Chango village maximum number of households (31.29%) send two workers followed by those with four workers (22.14%). Households with three workers and 'five or more' workers also have significant but equal strength (19.85%). On the other hand, in Kongo, households having three workers have the highest strength (35.62%) followed by those with two workers (31.50%) and 'five or more' workers (21.92%). But in Rogi village, altogether different picture is seen. Here highest frequency is held by the households with 'five or more' workers (35.38%). Households with three workers come next (24.62%). Third and fourth places are secured by households with two workers (21.54%) and four workers (16.92%), respectively. This clearly shows the difference in the effective man-power in the three different villages.

On the village-wise analysis of the effective workers, it is seen that in Chango village maximum number of workers come from households with 'five or more workers' (34.48%), followed by the households with four workers (26.67%) and two workers (18.85%). A significant number of workers (17.93%) come from households with three workers. In Kongo also households with 'five or more' workers bear the maximum number of workers (41.41%). But difference from Chango lies in the next place. Here the next higher number of workers come from the households with three workers followed by those with two workers. At Rogi households with 'five or more' workers send majority of the workers (54.85%). The next higher number of workers come from the households with three workers followed by those with four workers.

The ethnic groupwise analysis of the distribution of workers in the households of the three villages also yields some significant results.

While among the Rajput of Chango, households with two workers have the highest frequency (31.90%) and households with five or more workers send the maximum number of workers (34.88%); at Kongo households with three workers among these people, have the maximum strength (40.00%) and the same households send largest number of workers (38.10%). At Rogi, on the other, households with five or more workers have the highest frequency (45.00%) and the same households send majority of the workers (64.64%). While at Chango the next higher frequency goes to the households with four workers (22.41%), at Kongo and Rogi this place has been secured by the households with two workers and three workers respectively. The Koli of the three villages do not tally with the Rajput in this regard. Among them in Chango households with three workers have the highest frequency (30.00%) and households with 'five or more workers' send the highest number of workers (31.25%).

TABLE 17. Distribution of households on the basis of number of workers in different villages.

No. of workers in a household	Frequency	C H A N G O							
		Rajput		Koli		Other Castes		Total	
		Household engaged	Workers engaged	Household engaged	Workers engaged	Household engaged	Workers engaged	Household engaged	Workers engaged
One worker	No. %	8 6.90	8 2.07	1 10.00	1 3.12	1 3.12	9 2.07	9 6.87	9 2.07
Two workers	No. %	37 31.90	74 19.12	2 20.00	4 12.50	2 40.00	4 25.00	41 31.29	82 18.85
Three workers	No. %	22 18.97	66 17.05	3 30.00	9 28.12	1 20.00	3 18.75	26 19.85	78 17.93
Four workers	No. %	26 22.41	104 26.87	2 20.00	8 25.00	1 20.00	4 25.00	29 22.14	116 26.67
Five or more workers	No. %	23 19.82	135 34.88	2 20.00	10 31.25	1 20.00	5 31.25	26 19.85	150 34.48
Total	No. %	116 100.00	387 99.99	10 100.00	32 99.99	5 100.00	16 100.00	131 100.00	435 100.00

TABLE 17. Distribution of households on the basis of number of workers in different villages. (Contd.)

No. of workers	Frequency	K O N G O S							
		Rajput		Koli		Other Castes		Total	
		Households engaged	Workers engaged	Household engaged	Workers engaged	Household engaged	Workers engaged	Household engaged	Workers engaged
One worker	No. %	1 2.50	1 0.79	1 3.33	1 0.81			2 2.74	2 0.78
Two workers	No. %	14 35.00	28 22.22	7 23.33	14 11.38	2 66.67	4 57.14	23 31.50	46 17.97
Three workers	No. %	16 40.00	48 38.10	9 30.00	27 21.95	1 33.33	3 42.86	26 35.62	78 30.47
Four workers	No. %	3 7.50	12 9.52	3 10.00	12 9.76			6 8.22	24 9.38
Five or more workers	No. %	6 15.00	37 29.37	10 33.33	69 56.09			16 21.92	106 41.41
Total	No. %	40 100.00	126 100.00	30 99.99	123 99.99	3 100.00	7 100.00	73 100.00	256 100.00

TABLE 17. Distribution of households on the basis of number of workers in different villages (Contd.)

No. of Workers	Frequency	R O G I							
		Rajput		Koli		Other Castes		Total	
		Household engaged	Workers engaged	Household engaged	Workers engaged	Household engaged	Workers engaged	Household engaged	Workers engaged
One worker	No. %	1 2.50	1 0.55			1 1.54		1 1.54	1 0.37
Two workers	No. %	6 15.00	12 6.63	6 27.27	12 15.19	2 66.67	4 50.00	14 21.54	28 10.45
Three workers	No. %	9 22.50	27 14.92	7 31.82	21 26.58			16 24.62	48 17.91
Four workers	No. %	6 15.00	24 13.26	4 18.18	16 20.25	1 33.33	4 50.00	11 16.92	44 16.42
Five or more workers	No. %	18 45.00	117 64.64	5 22.73	30 37.97			23 35.38	147 54.85
Total	No. %	40 100.00	181 100.00	22 100.00	79 99.99	3 100.00	8 100.00	65 100.00	268 100.00

But at Kongos households with five or more workers have the highest strength (33.33%) and the same households send majority of the workers (56.09%). On the other hand, among the Koli of Rogi, households with three workers have the highest frequency but households with 'five or more' workers send maximum number of workers (37.37%). The next higher frequency in Chango, is retained by households with two, four and five workers and in Kongos the same is held by three workers and in Rogi, two workers.

Among the 'Other Ethnic Group' households with two workers, in all the three villages, have the highest frequency. In Chango households with 'five or more' workers and in Kongos households with two workers send highest number of workers. At Rogi, households with two and four workers send the equal number of workers (50.00%).

It would be interesting to mention here that in all the three villages, all the ethnic groups try to send as many workers as possible. It is possibly because of the difficult terrain they live in, where without the utilization of more manpower, it is difficult to survive. Here land is distributed in different altitudes. So it is obviously difficult for one to till the soil spread over different altitudes ranging roughly from 6,000 to 14,000 ft. Secondly, varied occupations like agriculture, sheep rearing, mule-teering, labour etc. also draw more man-power. Earlier sufficient man-power was required for trade also.

The following factors seem to be responsible for the variation of workers per household.

(i) Average size of the household

The average size of the household is the smallest in Chango (5.02) and is the largest in Rogi (6.98). Naturally, Rogi households can send more workers. Further the system of *nangma* and *gangun* in Chango village (Raha : 1976 ; Chandra : 1971) also reduces the number of workers in a household. In this system, "the parents usually build a separate house for their old age where they move with their unmarried daughters, when their married sons get a child". (Raha : *op.cit*). The newly built household where the parents live, is known as the *gangun* and the natal households where their sons live, is called *nangma*.

(ii) Job opportunity

As Rogi village is very close to the district headquarters (Kalpa), so job-opportunity for the people of this village is more, and in fact, a number of villagers are in service or employed in other ways. Somewhat similar is the case with the inhabitants of Kongos. For its proximity to the sub-divisional headquarters (Nachar) and also to the main road (National High Way No. 22) linking Kinnaur with Simla this village has more job opportunity. But the village Chango is far away from the district headquarters and is also away from sub-

divisional headquarters, Pooh. As a result the opening for the job is also less.

(iii) Ecological factor

Both Rogi and Kongos get some rain during monsoon, and moreover the snowfall is more in these two villages. But as Chango is situated in almost arid area, it is devoid of rainfall. Snowfall is also low. Obviously the fertility of the land here is low. So less manpower is required for the less fertile land as their land mostly yield single crop a year.

(iv) Land-holding

From Table 26 it is apparent that the average land holding (cultivable) per land-owning household at Chango is the lowest and that at Rogi is the highest. While at Chango this average comes to 2.02 acres, at Kongos and Rogi it is much higher particularly at Rogi (2.39 and 4.99 acres respectively). As because the villagers of Rogi and Kongos have more area of land per household for cultivation than those at Chango, obviously the number of workers per household at Rogi and Kongos will be more than that at Chango as more workers will be required to till more area of land.

So long we have discussed about the working and non-working units among the Kinnaurese. What actually is seen, is that all the workable units in a population comprise members between the age group of 15 and 59. Sometimes workable units are more in number than the working units, sometimes the case is reversed. Due to a number of factors the working units become less than the workable units. Similarly, for disease and various other factors, the working units in a society decreases. On the other hand, the difficult terrain and climatic conditions of the area, etc. compel even persons who are below 15 or above 59 also to become working units though actually they should be non-working units and dependents. Through the following tables and discussions, we would show the proportion of workable¹, working², and non-working forces or dependents³, in Kinnaur.

Table 18 indicates the frequency of workable, working and non-working units among the inhabitants of the three villages studied. All the villages show that the frequency of working units is much higher than the workable units, the non-working units have the lowest frequency. At Chango village while the frequency of the total workable units is 57.90% of the total population, the working units are 66.11%. Similarly at Kongos and Rogi villages while the total workable units are 55.33%

¹ Here by *workable unit* we mean all persons belonging to the age-group of 15 to 59.

² By *working unit* we mean persons actually working.

³ By *dependents* we mean person belonging to the workable age-group and outside it who do not work but remain dependent on the actual working force.

TABLE 18. Frequency of workable, working and non-working units in three villages.

Ethnic Groups	C H A N G O											
	Total Population			Workable Unit			Working Unit			Dependants		
	Male		Female	Total	Male		Female	Total	Male		Female	Total
	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total
Rajput	290	295	585	177 61.03	163 55.25	340 58.12	190 65.52	197 66.78	387 66.15	100 34.48	98 33.22	198 33.85
Koli	23	23	46	13 56.52	12 52.17	25 54.35	17 73.91	15 65.22	32 69.57	6 26.09	8 34.78	14 30.43
Other Ethnic Groups	11	16	27	7 63.64	9 56.25	16 59.26	7 63.64	9 56.25	16 59.26	4 36.36	7 43.75	11 40.74
	324	334	658	197 60.80	184 55.09	381 57.90	214 66.05	221 66.17	435 66.11	110 33.95	113 33.83	223 33.89

TABLE 18. Frequency of workable, working and non-working units in three villages (Contd.)

Ethnic Groups	R O G I											
	Total Population			Workable Unit			Working Unit			Dependants		
	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total
Rajput	156	154	310	83 53.21	87 56.49	170 54.84	85 54.49	96 62.34	181 58.39	71 49.51	58 37.66	129 41.61
Koli	62	65	127	36 58.06	32 49.23	68 53.54	39 62.90	40 61.54	79 62.20	23 37.10	25 38.46	48 37.80
Other Ethnic Groups	6	4	10	3 50.00	2 50.00	5 50.00	4 66.67	2 50.00	6 60.00	2 33.33	2 50.00	4 40.00
	224	223	447	122 54.46	121 54.26	243 54.36	128 57.14	138 61.88	226 59.51	96 42.86	85 38.12	181 40.49

and 54.36% respectively, total working units are 63.52% and 59.51% respectively. In an identical way, sex-wise distribution of these two units show the same feature. Both male and female working units in all the three villages are much higher in strength than the male and female workable units.

If a comparison is made among the three villages, it is seen that both workable and working units in Chango have the highest frequency while the same at Rogi have the lowest. While the total workable and working units at Chango are 57.90% and 66.11% respectively, these are 55.33% and 63.52% respectively at Kongos and 54.36% and 59.51% respectively at Rogi.

In the above context, it can be said that the peculiar ecological conditions in these Himalayan villages have compelled the inhabitants to send more persons to work. As a result, persons from outside the scheduled age-group marked as workable unit or labour force (15 to 59) are to work for their existence. That means even all persons belonging to the workable unit *i.e.* all persons belonging to the age-group 15 to 59 work, are unable to meet the demand of man-power required for the job to produce so much as to feed themselves and their dependents. So to meet the demand of additional man-power they are to employ even their dependents. (age group 0 to 14 and 60 and above).

For the second factor, it is seen that the number of persons belonging to age-group 15 to 59 (workable units) is maximum in Chango and minimum in Rogi. So automatically both workable and working units at Chango will be the highest and those at Rogi will be the lowest. Secondly, the village Rogi for its proximity to the district headquarters, sends highest number of students, many of whom are unable to work. On the other hand, as Chango is far away from the district headquarters and also from the sub-divisional headquarters, Pooh, very few people can go to school; so many of them can join hand in hand with their elders in cultivating their land.

When the sex-wise distribution of these units are taken into account it is seen that in all the three villages the male workable units out-number the female workable units. But this feature does not hold good for the working units. The condition is different in different villages. While in Chango and Rogi more femalefolk are participating as the working units than the malefolk, in Kongos the reverse is the case. Here the male working units are more than the female working units. The other important feature is that while in Chango both the male and the female dependents have almost equal frequency, it is not so at Kongos.

The ethnic groupwise analysis reflects that among both the Rajput and the Koli the frequency of both male and female working units are higher than that of the workable units. But in the case of other ethnic groups the picture is somewhat different. At Chango, both workable and working units belonging to both the sexes are equal *i.e.* some number of workable persons are actually working. At Kongos both the female

workable and working units are equal in number though male working units are much higher than the male workable units. But at Rogi the number of male workable and working units are equal but the same for female working units is definitely higher than that of the workable units of the same sex. The non-working units or dependents in case of all the ethnic groups of all villages, are less in number than both the workable and the working units. Further, except in case of the Rajput non-working unit of Chango and Rogi, the female non-working units belonging to Koli and the other ethnic groups of Chango and Rogi and to the Rajput, the Koli and the other of Chango and higher in number than the male non-working units. In the former case *i.e.* the Rajputs of both Chango and Rogi the male dependents are higher in number than the female dependents.

Another interesting thing which is expressed from the table is that while in Chango, the other ethnic groups have the highest frequency of the workable, units, in other two villages, they have the lowest frequency of the same. At Kongos and Rogi the Rajput have the highest frequency. So far as the working units are concerned, the highest frequency goes to the Koli at Chango and Rogi, while the Rajput have the same at Kongos only. The frequency of these units is held by the other ethnic group in both Chango and Kongos but the same is held by the Rajput at Rogi. The highest frequency of dependents belong to the other ethnic groups at Chango and Kongos but the same goes to the Rajput at Rogi while the lowest frequency goes to the Koli at Chango and Rogi and the Rajputs at Kongos.

Occupation

The Kinnaurese earn their livelihood by keeping themselves engaged in different jobs. Actually only a very few households are found where the members keep themselves engaged in a single occupation. Usual practice is that members keep themselves busy in different occupations. From Table 19 it is indicated that cultivation, labour and service are the different single occupations performed by the members of some households of the three villages. The frequency of the households with single occupation is 11.45%, 5.48% and 12.50% in Chango, Kongos and Rogi respectively. When the occupation distribution in different households in three villages are taken into account, it is seen that at Chango households with three different occupations like 'cultivation, sheep and goat rearing and mule-teering' have the highest frequency (22.90%). But at Kongos households with 'cultivation and labour' (31.51%) and at Rogi households with 'cultivation and sheep and goat rearing' (28.13%) have the highest frequency. The next higher frequency goes to the households with 'cultivation and sheep and goat rearing' (12.21%) at Chango, 'cultivation, sheep and goat rearing and labour' (13.70%) and 'cultivation and other occupations' (10.96%) at Kongos,

TABLE 19. Distribution of households of various ethnic groups by occupation.

Nature of occupation in the households	C H A N G O							
	No. of households engaged among							
	Rajput		Koli		OEG		Total	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
C	12	10.34					12	9.16
L	—	—						
S	2	1.72	1	10.00			3	2.29
C & Sr	16	13.79					16	12.21
C & L	18	15.52					18	13.74
C & W	—	—	2	20.00			2	1.53
C & Mt	8	6.90					8	6.11
C & OC	9	7.76	1	10.00	2	40.00	12	9.16
C, Sr & L	5	4.31			1	20.00	6	4.58
C, L & W					1	20.00	1	0.76
C, Sr & Mt	30	25.86	—		—		30	22.90
C, Sr & OC	3	2.59	—		1	20.00	4	3.05
C, W & OC			4	40.00	—		4	3.05
C, Mt & OC	1	0.86	—		—		1	0.76
C, Mt & L	5	4.31	—		—		5	3.82
C, L & OC	1	0.86	—		—		1	0.76
C, Sr & OC	—	—					—	
L & OC	—	—	—		—		—	
C, L, W & OC	—		—		—		—	
C, L, W & Sr	—		—		—		—	
C, LW, Sr & OC	—		—		—		—	
C, Sr, W & OC	—		2	20.00	—		2	1.53
C, Sr, Mt & OC	4	3.45	—		—		4	3.05
C, L, Mt & Sr	1	0.86	—		—		1	0.76
C, L, Sr, Mt & OC	1	0.86	—		—		1	0.76
	116	100.00	10	100.00	5	100.00	131	

Code . C=Cultivation L=Labour S=Service W=Weaving Mt=Mule teering
 Sr=Sheep & goat rearing OC=Other occupations

TABLE 19. Distribution of households of various ethnic groups by occupation (*Contd.*).

Nature of occupation in the households	K O N G O S							
	No. of households engaged among							
	Rajput		Koli		OEG		Total	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
C					—		—	
L			1	3.33			1	1.37
S								
C & Sr	2	5.00	1	3.33			3	4.11
C& L	17	42.50	6	20.00			23	31.51
C & W	—		1	3.33			1	1.37
C & Mt	—							
C & OC	6	15.00	—	—	2	66.67	8	10.96
C, Sr & L	10	25.00					10	13.70
C, L & W			6	20.00			6	8.22
C, Sr & Mt	—	—						
C, Sr & OC	1	2.50	1	3.33	—		2	2.74
C, W & OC	—		—		—		—	
C, Mt & OC	—		—		—		—	
C, Mt & L	—		—		—		—	
C, L & OC	1	2.50	3	10.00	1	33.33	5	6.85
C, Sr & OC	3	7.50	—		—		3	4.11
L & OC	—		—		—		—	
C, L, W & OC	—		3	10.00	—		3	4.11
C, L, W & Sr	—		5	16.67	—		5	6.85
C, LW, Sr & OC	—		3	10.00	—		3	4.11
C, Sr, W & OC	—		—		—		—	
C, Sr, Mt & OC	—		—		—		—	
C, L, Mt & Sr	—		—		—		—	
C, L, Sr, Mt & OC	—		—		—			
	40	100.00	30	100.00	3	100.00	73	100.00

TABLE 19. Distribution of households of various ethnic groups by occupation (*Contd.*).

Nature of occupation in the households	R O G I							
	No. of households engaged among							
	Rajput		Koli		OEG		Total	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
C	3	7.50	4	18.18			7	10.94
L					1	50.00	1	1.56
S							—	
C & Sr	18	45.00					18	28.13
C & L	2	5.00	7	31.81			9	14.06
C & W	—		2	9.09			2	3.12
C & Mt	—						—	
C & OC	3	7.50	2	9.09			5	7.81
C, Sr & L	2	5.00	1	4.55			3	4.69
C, L & W			2	9.09			2	3.12
C, Sr & Mt	—		—				—	
C, Sr & OC	10	25.00	1	4.55	—		11	17.19
C, W & OC	—		—		—		—	
C, Mt & OC	—		—		—		—	
C, Mt & L	—		—		—		—	
C, L & OC	—		—		1	50.00	1	1.56
C, Sr & OC	2	5.00	1	4.55	—		3	4.69
L & OC	—		—	4.55	—		1	1.56
C, L, W & OC	—		—		—		—	
C, L, W & Sr	—		—		—		—	
C, LW, Sr & OC	—		1	4.55	—		1	1.55
C, Sr, W & OC	—		—		—		—	
C, Sr, Mt & OC	—		—		—		—	
C, L, Mt & Sr	—		—		—		—	
C, L, Sr, Mt & OC	—		—		—		—	
	40	100.00	22	100.00	2	100.00	64	—

and 'cultivation, sheep and goat rearing' and 'other occupations' (17.19 %) and 'cultivation and labour' (14.06 %) at Rogi. Besides the above at Chango, households with 'cultivation and other occupations' have significant frequency. But at Kongos, households with 'cultivation labour, and weaving' (8.22 %) and at Rogi households with 'cultivation and other occupations' (7.81 %) have significant strength.

When we analyse the occupational pattern of the individual ethnic groups in different settlements studied, we find somewhat different picture. At Chango the Rajput households with 'cultivation, sheep and goat rearing and mule-teering' as occupations, have the highest frequency (25.86 %), the Koli households with 'cultivation, weaving and other occupations' and the households of other ethnic groups with 'cultivation and other occupations' have the highest strength (40.00 % each).

At Kongos, on the other hand, though the households among the Rajput with 'cultivation and labour as occupations have the highest frequency (42.50 %), among the Kolis, households with 'cultivation and labour' (20.00 %) and 'cultivation, labour and weaving' (20.00 %) and among the other ethnic groups households with 'cultivation and other occupations' (66.67 %) have the highest strength. It is interesting to mention here that among the other ethnic groups of this village households with the following two combinations of occupations are in existence—(1) cultivation and 'other occupations' and (2) cultivation, labour and 'other occupations'.

At Rogi among the Rajput households with 'cultivation and sheep and goat rearing' as occupations have the highest frequency (45.00 %) while among the Koli, households with 'cultivation and labour' (31.81 %) and among the other ethnic groups labour (50.00 %) and 'cultivation, labour and other occupations' (50.00 %) have highest strength. Here also among the other ethnic groups households have two sets of occupations—(1) labour and (2) cultivation, labour and 'other occupations'.

At Chango, the Rajput households with 'cultivation and labour' have the next higher frequency (15.52 %), but the Koli have households with 'cultivation and weaving' (20.00 %) and 'cultivation, sheep and goat rearing', weaving and 'other occupations' (20.00 %) and the other ethnic groups have households with 'cultivation sheep and goat rearing' and 'other occupations' (20.00 %) have the next higher frequency.

At Kongos among the Rajput households with 'cultivation sheep and goat rearing and labour' (25.00 %) have the next higher strength while among the Koli, households with 'cultivation labour, weaving and sheep and goat rearing' (16.67 %) and among the other ethnic groups households with 'cultivation labour and other occupations' (33.33 %) have the next higher frequency.

At Rogi, on the other hand, the Rajput households with 'cultivation, sheep and goat rearing' and 'other occupations' (25.00 %) have the next higher frequency. But among the Koli households with cultivation alone (18.18 %) secure the second place.

From the above discussion, it may be derived that among the Kinnaurese who include the Rajput and other artisan castes, households having more than one occupations is the general trend. Households with single occupation is undoubtedly insignificant. Further, while the combined 'cultivation, sheep and goat rearing and mule-teering' is the major household occupatios in Chango, this combination of occupation is absent in other two villages. In fact, mule-teering as an occupation, is present only in Chango and that too among the Rajput only. This is prolably because a good number of people in this village, are attached to para-military or Border Roads Organisation and other government departments at the Pooh subdivisional town. While maximum number of households at Kongos have combined 'cultivation and labour' as occupations, at Rogi, sheep and goat rearing has replaced labour. Again weaving and other specialised occupations are absent among the Rajput but present among the Koli and also among the other artisan castes. While the Rajput remain engaged in a good number of occupation, the Koli and the members of the other ethnic groups have fewer occupations.

When we come down to the distribution of individual workers on the basis of occupation or combination of occupations Table 20 it is seen that in all the three villages studied, while the majority of the male workers have multiple occupations, the majority of the female workers have single occupation. This is however, not true for Rogi. Among the male workers 68.23%, 82.74% and 49.99% from Chango, Kongos and Rogi, respectively have multiple occupations while among the female workers 69.23%, 70.09% and 71.02% from the three villages, respectively, have single occupation.

As we analyse workers on the basis of occupation, we see that both male and female workers with cultivation as occupation at both Chango and Rogi, have the highest frequency (20.56% and 68.33% and 29.69% and 69.57% respectively). But at Kongos male workers with cultivation and labour each and female workers with cultivation have the highest frequency (40.29% and 69.24% respectively).

At Chango, the next higher frequency goes to 'cultivation and mule-teering' for the men (17.29%) and 'cultivation and sheep and goat rearing' for the women (22.17%). Here it is important to mention that in Kinnaur the female folk do the rearing of sheep and goat only when these animal remain in the village, that is, during April to October. Otherwise, it is the job of the male folk to take these for pasturing in lower regions in the month of October during the onset of winter. They again come back with these animals in April or May when the snow melts with the advent of warmer days. Men (13.08%) and women (7.24%) having both cultivation and labour as occupations, have the next higher strength.

At Kongos, on the other hand 'cultivation and sheep-rearing' for

TABLE 20. Distribution of workers in different occupations (Contd.).

R O G I																			
Rajput					Koli					OEG					All Ethnic Groups				
Workers engaged					Workers engaged					Workers engaged					Workers engaged				
Male		Female			Male		Female			Male		Female			Male		Female		
No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
29	34.12	71	73.96	9	23.08	24	60.00	1	50.00	38	29.69	96	69.57						
C	5	5.88	—	—	—	1	2.50	1	50.00	5	3.91	—	—						
Sr	18	21.18	—	2	5.13	3	7.50	—	—	1	0.78	2	1.45						
L	23	27.06	25	26.04	16	41.03	11	27.50	2	50.00	23	17.97	28	20.29					
OC	3	3.53	—	4	10.26	7	17.95	1	2.50	1	7.81	—	—						
C. Sr	5	5.88	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	7	5.47	1	0.72						
C. L																			
C. OC																			
C. W																			
C. Mt																			
W. OC																			
C. Sr. L	1	1.18	—	1	2.56	—	—	—	—	2	1.56	—	—						
C. L. W																			
C. L. OC																			
C. W. OC																			
C. Sr. OC	1	1.81	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	0.78	—	—						
C. Sr. Mt																			
C. L. Mt																			
C. L. W. OC																			
					85	100.01	96	100.00	39	100.01	40	100.00	4	100.00	2	100.00	128	138	100.00

the men (13.67%) and 'cultivation and labour' (23.93%) for the women have the next higher strength. These are followed by cultivation and 'cultivation and other occupations' for the men (7.91% each) and 'cultivation and sheep and goat rearing' for the women (2.56%).

At Rogi, the next higher strength goes to the combined occupations of 'cultivation and sheep and goat rearing' for both men (17.97%) and women (20.29%). This is followed by 'cultivation and labour' for both the sexes, of course, a significant number of men of this village (15.63%) have 'other occupation' also. In connection with the sex-wise occupational distribution, it may be pointed out here that while the male folk have multifarious occupations, the female folk have only a few.

As we come to the ethnic groupwise distribution of occupations, the difference of occupations is significant in all the three villages.

At Chango, while the highest number of the Rajput men (23.16%) and women (68.53%), remain engaged in cultivation, the highest number of men belonging to Koli (41.18%) and the other ethnic groups (71.43%) remain engaged in 'cultivation and weaving' though the female folk keep themselves engaged in cultivation mostly (73.33% and 55.56% respectively).

The next higher number of the Rajput is 'men and labour'. The next preference for the other ethnic groups, men and women is obviously cultivation, labour and other occupations.

Some difference in the occupational pattern is seen among the various ethnic groups inhabiting Rogi village. Here maximum number of the Rajput men (34.12%) and women (73.96%) have cultivation. While majority of the Koli women (60.00%) follow their Rajput neighbours, the first choice of the Koli men is 'cultivation and labour' in which 41.03% of them remain engaged. In case of the other ethnic groups, half of their male folk prefer labour as occupation while the women equally share cultivation (50.00%) and labour (50.00%).

At Rogi, the Rajput men and women give the next higher importance to the 'cultivation and sheep and goat rearing', but the same for the Koli women is 'cultivation and labour'. On the other hand, for the other man of other ethnic groups both 'sheep and goat rearing' (25.00%) and 'cultivation and other occupations' (25.00%) get the next higher importance.

So from the above discussion as it revealed that while the male workers of all ethnic groups of all villages except the Rajput of Rogi, remain busy in occupation other than cultivation, the majority of the female workers of all ethnic groups of these villages, have cultivation as the major occupation. The other important point is that while most of the male workers of all ethnic groups of these villages have more than one occupation, most of the female workers have single occupation (cultivation) except those of the other Ethnic groups in Kongos where all the female workers have more than one occupation.

LAND AND LAND-TENURE SYSTEM

The gazetteer of Bushahr State of 1910 gives us some idea about the past land tenure system in Kinnaur district which was once a part of that State. Extracts from the said gazetteer throws some light on system.

“Proprietary right, as it is recognised in British India, does not exist in Bushahr, but at the same time so long as a *zamindar* cultivates his lands, and pays his revenue, his status is practically that of a proprietor, except that his power of alienation is restricted. Possession is the measure of right, and hence all the village communities are what is known in British territory as *bhaiachara*. Except for the village site and the grazing ground, there is no *shamilat deh* or village common land. All uncultivated waste land is the property of the State, subject to rights of user enjoyed by the *zamindars* from time immemorial. Waste land, when broken up, belongs to the man who breaks it. Hay fields are held in severalty, and are just as valuable as cultivable land”. (1911 : 66) The above extract gives us some idea about the past land tenure system of Kinnaur. The said gazetteer also classifies two kinds of tenancy holders—firstly the *zamindar*, the land owner (though they did not have the proprietary right) and the *muzaras* (tenants). There were two types of tenants one those who had hereditary rights and the other who did not have, but there was no difference in rent paid by each. The main principle was that the tenants should pay the land lord the value of half his grain produced. The rents paid were of three types—(1) *batai* (2) cash and (3) cash and kind.

The Gazetteer of Simla district of 1904 also gives similar idea. “There is a great diversity of tenures in the hills. Some tenants hold their land by daily service to their land lord without paying rent. Some tenants pay rent in cash, together with *malikana*. Some pay in kind as much as half the produce. In addition to the fixed rent, tenants contribute to the expenses of deaths and marriages in their land lord’s family, and give occasional service. No portion of the chaff is given to the land lord. At the time of division of produce, in some places, a quantity equal to the seed is deducted, and the remaining is divided equally while in other places the whole of the produce is divided. There are very few tenants with rights of occupancy” (1908 : 72).

The present day land tenure system (*gaari*) is somewhat similar to that of the past. Here in this system the land owner (*malik*) who has big landed property, gives a portion of his land on share basis for cultivation to the share-croppers (*garas*) who generally belong to the Rajput or the Koli ethnic group. The landowner also gives the required amount of seed and also water for irrigation. The share is divided at a rate of 50:50. If a *garas* gives the seed then he deducts the amount of seed he used and the rest of the produce is divided between the land-owner

and the tenant at 50 : 50 ratio. This system is also known as *ekesh* system in some areas.

There is another system prevalent in some parts of this district. It is known as *galla-batai* system. Here the share-cropper gives seed, manure and also supplies plough and bullock. He gets 75% of the produce while the rest 25% go to the landowner. But this system is connected with the single cropped land only.

In connection with the land of the temple similar system with slight difference is marked. Here, the land of the temple is distributed among different villagers (who are the Rajput only) for share cropping. The production is divided into half. But in this case seed and manure are given by the share-cropper.

Land classification

In Kinnaur, the cultivated land is either on the valleys or on the hill slopes on the banks of the rivers. For this reason the quality of of the land definitely varies. Accordingly, the Kinnaurese classify their land in the following three grades (Raha : 1975).

(1) *Neoglang* or low altitude land—usually the land of this type is situated below the village level and is lying between 5,000ft. to 7,000 ft. above the sea level. This type of land is quite fertile and yields two crops a year. It is popularly known as *neol* land.

(2) *Kimsaring* or middle altitude land—usually the village level land is called *Kimsaring* (*Kimhouse* or household). This type of land is situated between 7,000 ft. to 11,000 ft. above sea level, and produces two crops a year. It is also locally called *gaon* land.

(3) *kanda* or *rongo* or high altitude land. This type of land is usually situated on the high altitude above the village level. Lying generally between 11,000 ft. to 14,000 ft. above sea level, this type of land is of inferior type and returns only one crop a year.

But according to the Settlement Department of the district, cultivable land is of six types *neol* (equivalent to *kimsaring*), *bakhal oval* and *bakhal dom* (equivalent to *kimsaring*), *bagicha* (kitchen garden) and *korali oval* and *korali dom* (equivalent to *kanda*). Besides, there is grassland for pasture called *ghasni*.

In Sungra area almost identical system is prevalent. Here land is also classified into six types :

- (1) Neol,
- (2) Bakhal-I-Abal Neyri,
- (3) Bakhal-II-Abal Neyri,
- (4) Bakhal-Abal Berani,
- (5) Karali Abal-I and
- (6) Karali Abal Berani.

In case of type No. 4 and 6 noted above no irrigation is required. Besides there is pasture land called *ghasni*.

According to the first settlement as stated in the Gazetteer of 1910 the land here, was divided into four types.

- 1. *Kiar* (1st and 2nd class)
- 2. *Bakhal* (— Do —)
- 3. *Karali* (— Do —)
- 4. *Newal*.

“*Kiar* is.....irrigated from hill streams. The first class sometimes yields two crops *Bakhal* is manured land near the homestead and ordinarily yields two crops. *Karali* is more or less newly reclaimed land or else old clearings at some distance from the homestead, which cannot be manured. As a rule it yields one crop only. *Bakhal* is sometimes irrigated from streams, but, as a rule, it is dependent upon rainfall. *Karali* is entirely so.....” (1910 : 46). The said gazetteer points out that the *newal* (neol) type “comprises of the vineyard and apricot orchards and the warm low-lying lands of the Sutlej valley, which produces two or more crops in a year”. (*op. cit.*)

But the present condition is quite different. These days so many facilities have been provided to the villagers by the Government to irrigate their land by constructing channels and by other means. Now excepting the high altitude land, other types yield two crops a year.

Land types

As agriculture is their main livelihood, the people of Kinnaur consider land as their most valuable asset. In Kinnaur, total cultivable land is indicated in a report by the Department of Agriculture; Government of Himachal Pradesh for 1971-72 (p-3) is 23,075.50 acres which cover 59.92% of the total area of the district (38511.00 acres). But only little over half has been covered under irrigation. In Table—21 distribution of irrigated and non-irrigated land according to the said report is given below :

TABLE 21. Distribution of Irrigated and non-irrigated land in Kinnaur

Area		Cultivable land (in acre)		
		Total	Irrigated	Non-Irrigated
Kinnaur Area	Total	23075.50	12226.00	10849.50
	%	(100.00%)	(52.98%)	(47.02%)
Pooh Area	Total	6370.50	6370.50	—
	%	(100.00%)	(100.00%)	—
Nachar Area	Total	8100.00	632.50	7467.50
	%	(100.00%)	(7.81%)	(92.19%)
Kalpa Area	Total	8605.00	5223.00	3382.00
	%	(100.00%)	(60.70%)	(39.30%)

From the above table, it is apparent that while the whole of the cultivable land in Pooh Block (Zone-I) and 60.70 % in Kalpa Block (Zone-III) get irrigation facilities, in Nachar Block (Zone II) only 7.81 % of the total land have such watering facilities. On the other hand, in most the area of Nachar, the irrigation facilities have not yet been extended. It is probably due to the adequate rain in this area, as this area lies within monsoon range Kalpa is situated in the partial monsoon area. But Pooh is absolutely under semi-arid zone. As such the government has rightly given preference to Kalpa and Pooh areas over Nachar areas so far as irrigational facility is concerned. Of course snow in winter is also an additional source of irrigation but snowfall, likewise, is less in Pooh area than in Kalpa and Nachar areas.

Landholding

It is something unique that very few inhabitants of Kinnaur are landless. Most of them own land. Of course, the area of landholding definitely varies from person to person or from place to place. The survey conducted by us speaks that most of the households of the three villages studied have land. While 98.6 % of the total households of Kongos have land, 96.9 % of Rogi and 96.2 % of Chago households possess the same. (Table 22). When we examine the individual ethnic groups of these three villages we see that cent percent of the Rajput households of Kongos and Rogi own land but 97.4 % of them at Chango possess land. On the other hand, among the Koli 96.7 % and 95.5 % households at Kongos and Rogi and 80 % households at Chango own land. But among the other ethnic groups while all their households at Chango and Kongos have land only 50 % of them at Rogi are land owners.

On an examination of the average land holding per household from Table 23 it becomes clear that the 126 land owning households of Chango have a total of 253.26 acres of land which return 2.09 acres land per household on an average. On the other hand, 72 land owning households of Kongos belonging to all ethnic groups, have 171.85 acres of land giving an average of 2.39 acres per household. But much higher average per household acreage of land is possessed by the people of Rogi. 62 households of this village own 309.24 acres of land and thus their average per household possession comes to 4.99 acres. That means of all the three villages, inhabitants of Rogi keep more land per household.

When we come to the ethnic groupwise distribution of land, we see that the Rajput have more land under their disposal and their average per household holding is also much higher than that of other ethnic groups. At Chango while their average per household possession of land is 2.14 acres, the same for the Koli is only .62 acre and for the other ethnic groups 1.35 acres. At Kongos the average per household possession of land among the Rajput is 3.09 acres but the same among

TABLE 22. Distribution of land-owning households of different ethnic groups in different villages studied

ETHNIC GROUPS	CHANGO			KONGOS			ROGI		
	Total House-hold	Total Land owning House-hold	Percentage of land owning House-hold to total Household	Total House-hold	Total land owning House-hold	Percentage of land owning House-hold to total Household	Total House-hold	Total Land owning house-hold	Percentage of land owning House-hold to total Household
Rajput	116	113	97.41	40	40	100.00	40	40	100.00
Koli	10	8	80.00	30	29	96.67	22	21	95.45
Others	5	5	100.00	3	3	100.00	2	1	50.00
Total	131	126	96.18	73	72	98.63	64	62	96.87

TABLE 23. Ethnic groupwise land holding

[illegible]

the Koli is 1.61 acres and among the other ethnic groups 0.48 acre. At Rogi the average per household possession of land of the Rajput is 7.02 acres that of the Koli 1.33 acres and of the other ethnic groups 0.60 acre.

Thus from this it is apparent that of the three villages, the Rajput of Rogi have the largest average possession of land per household, and it is much higher than that of the Rajput of Kongos and Chango. In the latter village, average per household possession of land is the lowest among the Rajput. Again, it is also seen that while the average per household possession of land among the Koli is more than the other ethnic groups at Rogi and Kongos, there are below the other ethnic groups at Chango. Further, among the Koli of the three villages, the average per household possession of land is the largest at Kongos and the smallest at Chango while among the other ethnic groups the same is the largest at Kongos and the smallest at Rogi.

The distribution of households of the three villages on the basis of the size of the holding, gives an interesting picture. From Table 24 it appears that among the Rajput of Chango the highest number of households (31.19%) have less than one acre of land, the next highest number of households (26.61%) have land between 1.0 to 1.9 acres. 91.74% of their households have less than 5.0 acres and 98.16% have less than 10.0 acres. Only 1.83% households have ten acres or more land each.

On the other hand, at Kongos the highest number of the Rajput households (36.84%) have 1.0 to 1.9 acres of land. They are followed by those households (23.68%) who have 2.0 to 2.9 acres of land each. In this village, 84.20% of the Rajput households have less than 5.0 acres and 94.72% have less than 10.0 acres. Only 5.26% households have 10.0 acres or more land each.

But the picture is quite different at Rogi. Here highest number of the Rajput households (20.00%) have ten acres or more land each. The next higher strength goes to those households (17.50%) who have 3.0 to 3.9 acres each. Here only a little over 50% of the households (52.50%) have land below five acres and 80.00% have less than ten acres of land per household. 20.00% their households have ten acres or more land each.

Among the Koli of Chango on the other hand, the majority of the households (87.50%) have less than one acre of land each and all the households have land below 2.0 acres each.

But at Kongos, they have a little bigger size of land than that of their brethren at Chango. 34.78% of them have land between 1.0 to 1.9 acres and 65.51% have land below 2.0 acres. But all the households have less than 5.0 acres of land each.

At Rogi the largest number of the Koli households (47.37%) have 1.0 to 1.9 acres of land each, and 73.69% have less than 2.0 acres each. But all of them have less than 4.0 acres of land each.

Among the other ethnic groups of Chango majority of the households (60.00%) have less than one acre of land, and 80.00% of the households have less than 2.0 acres each. But all of them have land below 4.0 acres each. The condition is different in both Kongos and Rogi. Here all the households of the other ethnic groups have less than 1.0 acre of land each.

Thus from the above discussion it is evident that the Rajput of all the three villages and also all the ethnic groups have larger number of households having bigger area of land. Secondly of the different ethnic groups, only the Rajput have households having land over 5.0 acres per household, while the Koli and the other ethnic groups have land less than 5.0 acres per household. That means so far as the land holding per household is concerned the Rajput definitely have better position*. Particularly the Rajput of Rogi have the best position.

Khandan and land holding

As stated in connection with the *khandan* system that only the Rajput have got *khandan*. No other ethnic groups in Kinnaur have such system. As such here the area of land held by various *khandan* is only shown among the Rajput. Further as the *Khandan* system is absent among the Rajput of Chango, we have for this purpose, included only two other villages, Kongos and Rogi.

The multi *khandan* villages of Kinnaur do not show the uniformity in the distribution pattern of land. Though the households belonging to various *khandan* have land, there are *khandan* which possess more land while some others have very low average of land. Usually the more important *khandan* have more land and the less important ones have less holdings. At Kongos *khandan* like bhorya, kashu, tonku and charas have more than 6.60 acres of cultivable land, bhorya having biggest holding of 18.66 acres average per household. *khandan* like damesh, khajanchi and Tui have land ranging from 5.00 to 6.66 acres. Dhami damesh, khono damesh and ladong damesh have land between 3.33 to 5 acres. Rest have below 3.33 acres of which shabist have the lowest holding of 2.14 acres.

On the other hand at Rogi *khandan* like sangchain, potiyan, ares, surain, Surag, pangtu and Turkian have more than 6.66 acres of cultivable land on an average per household of which Sangchain have the highest holding 41.30 acres average per household. Dankas and pirumathas have land between 5 to 6.66 acres, and braise 3.66 acres. The lowest holding goes to kocha who only 0.66 acre.

So far as the 'other type' of land is concerned, *khandan* braise has the highest holding of an average of 3.33 acres per household. All other

* It is important to mention here that we have excluded 4 Rajput households having 11 acres of land from Chango, 2 Rajput households with 3.20 acres from Kongos and 2 Koli households with 1.40 acres from Rogi as they jointly share the land.

khandan have less than 1.66 acres on an average per household of which khajanchi has 1.44 acres but shabist has 0.12 acre average per household. Dhami damesh and kashu *khandan* do not possess 'other type' of land.

On the other hand, at Rogi more than half of the *khandan* do not have 'other type' of land. Out of eleven only five *khandan* have other type of land. Of these five, sangchain have an average of 6.11 acres per household and surain have 2.11 acres of land on an average per household. Rest three *khandan*, ares, surag and turkian have less than 5.0 acres of land per household.

From the above discussion it is apparent, that some of the *khandan* hold very large area of land and as such they are economically very well off. On the contrary, some other *khandan* have less area of land, and so they are not so well off so far as the agricultural economy is concerned. It is curious to mention here that these *khandan* who have more agricultural land hold a very dominant position in all spheres of the village life, economic, social, political and religions.

Household size and average land holding per household

In Kinnaur as in all other districts of India, the size of the households and the size of the average land holding per household varies. If a correlation is made between these two, it is found that, in certain cases, the size of the average land holding per household does have some bearing with the size of the household, though it may not be true in certain cases. Of all the three villages studied, the largest average land holding per household 27.42 acres is held by the household with 14 members while the smallest average land holding per household (3.10 bighas) is covered by those households who have one member. On correlating the same two factors among various ethnic groups of the three villages we see that the trend is flexible. Among the Rajput the highest average per household land holding is shared by households with 14 members (35.89 acres). The next higher average land holding per household is held by households with 11 members (18.37 acres). But the lowest average land holding per household goes to the household with single member. Among the Koli, on the other hand, households with 13 members have the highest average land holding with 5.91 acres followed by those with 10 members. Households with single member have the lowest average per household land holding. The other ethnic groups households with two members, have the smallest average per household land holding.

On coming to the individual village, again we see that the trend is identical, that is, larger households have larger average per household land holding and the average per household land holding is the highest among the Rajput.

At Chango it is seen that the holding of the average cultivable land among all the ethnic groups living in this village, is the highest (12.50 acres) in those households having 11 members but lowest in the households

with single member. The same is true for the Rajput also. Among this ethnic group the average land holding is the largest in the households with 11 members and the smallest in the households with single member. But the condition is quite different among the Koli among whom the households with 2 members have the largest average land holding 2.66 acres while those with 7 members have the lowest 0.50 acre. The trend among the other ethnic groups is somewhat similar to the Rajput. Among these people the households with 9 members have the largest average land holding (6.33 acres) while those with 2 members have the smallest (0.58 acre). Thus it is seen that in this village among both the Rajput and the other ethnic groups the trend is that households with larger members have larger average land holding.

At Kongos under Zone II the largest average land holding (10.16 acres) exists in those households who have 13 members and the smallest average holding (0.33 acres) goes to those households having one member. As we correlate the land holding with the size of the households among various ethnic groups of this village, we see that among the Rajput the largest average holding (18.66 acres) prevails in the households with 13 members but the smallest average holding (3.23 acres) goes to the households with 4 members. As regards the largest average holding, the Koli of this village follow the Rajput. In their case, too, the largest average land holding is held by those households having 13 members. But the households with one member, in their case have the lowest average holding. Among the other ethnic groups of this village, households with 3 and 5 members, the former have the lowest and the latter have the highest average land holding per household through the difference between them is not much. Further, here in this village, both the Rajput and the Koli households show a tendency that the smaller sized households having smaller average land holding and the larger sized households having larger average holding.

The inhabitants of Rogi not show much different trend. Here among all the ethnic groups the highest average size of holding (12.61 acres) is shared by the households with 10 members and the lowest average land holding (1.48 acres) is held by the households with 9 members. Among the Rajput of this village, as we see ethnic groupwise landholding, households with 14 members have largest average land holding (35.55 acres) and households with 5 members have the smallest average land holding (3.59 acres). On the other hand, among the Koli households with 15 members have the largest average land holding per household (5.33 acres) but households with 2 members have the smallest average landholding per household (1.50 acres). Among the other ethnic groups of this village only the households with 5 members have land. Further, this village also follows the same trend as regards land holding in varied sized households.

From the above discussion it is apparent that in Kinnaur among various ethnic groups, the trend is that the larger the size of the

households, the larger the size of the average land holding per household.

Distribution of households in various land owning groups

In general the Kinnaurese do not have large land holding. Most of the households belonging to various ethnic groups have the smallest size of holding. In our universe among all the ethnic groups, we see that the largest number of households (26.59%) belong to the 1.0 to 1.9 acres land holding group with an average holding of 1.32 acres per household followed by those belonging to 'less than one acre' land holding group (26.19%) with an average holding of 0.55 acre per household. Most of the households (86.50%) belong to below 5.0 acres land holding group. Only a very few households (4.67%) are under the group of 10.0 and more acres with an average land holding of 16.19 acres per household.

As we come to the individual ethnic groups of all the villages we find the identical trend. Among the Rajput of all the villages highest number of households (24.60%) are under land holding group of 1.0 to 1.9 acres with average holding of 1.33 acres per household and the majority of the household (81.81%) are within the land owning group of below 5.0 acres. Those households which have 10.0 and more acres are only 6.42% with an average land holding of 16.19 acres per household. Among the Koli of all villages who have all households within the landholding group of 4.9 acres and below, have the largest number of households (37.50%) within the landholding group of 'less than one acre' within average of 0.61 acre per household. This group is followed by the land holding category of 1.0 to 1.9 acres.

Comprising 35.71% of the households with an average holding of 1.29 acres per household. Among the other ethnic groups all the households of whom are under 4.0 acres of land, have most of the households (77.78%) are under the land holding category of 'less than one acre' with an average holding 0.57 acre per household.

Individual villages also show the similar tendency. Among all ethnic groups of the village Chango under Zone I the largest number of households (36.07%) are within the landholding group of 'less than one acre' with an average landholding of 0.52 acre per household. The majority of the households (92.63%) are within the range of 'below 5.0 acres' and only 1.64% households are under the landholding category of 10.0 and more acres with an average landholding of 10.50 acres per household. The Rajput of this village, who also have the largest number of households (31.19%) under the landholding group of 'less than one acre' with an average of 0.53 acre of land per household, have 91.74% households within 'less than 5.0 acres' landholding group. Among them a very insignificant number of households (1.83%) have 10.0 acres and more land with an average of 10.50 acres per household. All the Koli households of this village are under 3.0 acres of land, and the majority of the

households (87.50%) are within 'less than one acre' category with an average of 0.49 acre of landholding per household. Among the other ethnic groups also all the households are within the landholding category of 'less than 4.0 acres' and the majority of the households (60.00%) are within the category of 'less than one acre' with an average of 0.52 acre per household.

At Kongos under Zone II the largest number of households of all the ethnic groups (34.29%) are within the land-owning groups of 1.0 to 1.9 acres within an average of 1.35 acres per household. Most of the households (31.44%) here, like those in Chango, are within the household category of 'below 5.0 acres'. Only 2.86% households have 10.0 acres or more land with an average land holding of 10.60 acres per household. Among the Rajput of this village the similar norm is found. Here the largest number of households are within the land holding group of 1.0 to 1.9 acres, and the majority of the households (84.20%) are within the category of 'less than 5.0 acres'. Only a few households (10.60%) are within the category of '10.0 acres and more' with an average landholding of 10.60 acres, per household. The Koli, who do not have more than 5.0 acres, also follow the same pattern as that by the Rajput. But a significant thing among the other ethnic groups is that all their households are within the landholding group of 'less than one acre'.

At Rogi among all ethnic groups though the majority of the households (68.33%) are under the landholding group of 'less than 5.0 acres'. but quite a significant number of households (31.67%) are within the landholding category of '5.0 acres and more'. It is also important to note that 13.33% of the households are within the category of '10.0 acres and above'. Individual ethnic groups, of course, show diversified picture. Among the Rajput while a little over half of the total households (52.50%) come under the landholding group of 'below 5.0 acres', a large number of them (47.50%) have 5.0 acres and more land. It is interesting to note here that a good number of households (20.00%) are within the landholding group of '10.0 acres and above' with an average holding of 19.4 acres per household with more than 3.9 acres of land. Largest number of households (47.37%) are under the landholding category of 1.0 to 1.9 acres with an average of 1.23 acres per household. The other ethnic groups on the other hand, have all the households within the landholding group of 'less than one acre'.

Thus from the above discussion it is evident that most of the households belonging to various ethnic groups of the three villages, belong to the landholding group of 'less than 5.0 acres'. The second interesting point which emerges out of the above discussion, is that the Rajputs among the various ethnic groups living in these three villages, have much better position so far as the landholding is concerned. A good number of households of this ethnic group only belong to the landholding group of 5.0 acres and above. The third point that may be of interest, is that

of the three villages, Rogi has the larger number of households with larger landholding.

Trade and market

As mentioned earlier the Kinnaurese had trade with Tibet, Yarkhand, Ladak and other areas and also with the plains areas of Indian territory. The people of this district were very good traders. Indeed, they were "almost exclusively the commercial couriers between Hindustan and Tartary, and also between Tartary and Cashmere, frequenting the routes from Leo in Ladhak, Lhasa and Degurcha and Nepal on trading speculation..... The Kunawar merchants carry on a trade not only with plains and neighbouring Chinese provinces, but they are also the chief carriers between Garha, Ladhak and Cashmere, and even push their commercial enterprises as far as Lhasa on the south-east, exchanging commodities between that place and Nepal, and between the latter and the Chinese towns in Little Tibet, and to the northward, trading between Cashmere, Yarkhand, Kashgar, Garha and the various cities and people". (Fraser : 1820 : 264, 774). The trade with Tibet and other areas was carried out through various trade routes. The Punjab District Gazetteers, Simla District, referring Major Nisbets' report of 1881 regarding the trade routes, mentions. The trade from Tibet and Yarkand is registered at the bridge where the Hindustan—Tibet road crosses the river Sutlej at Wangtu. There are several routes which cover at or near this point, *viz.*

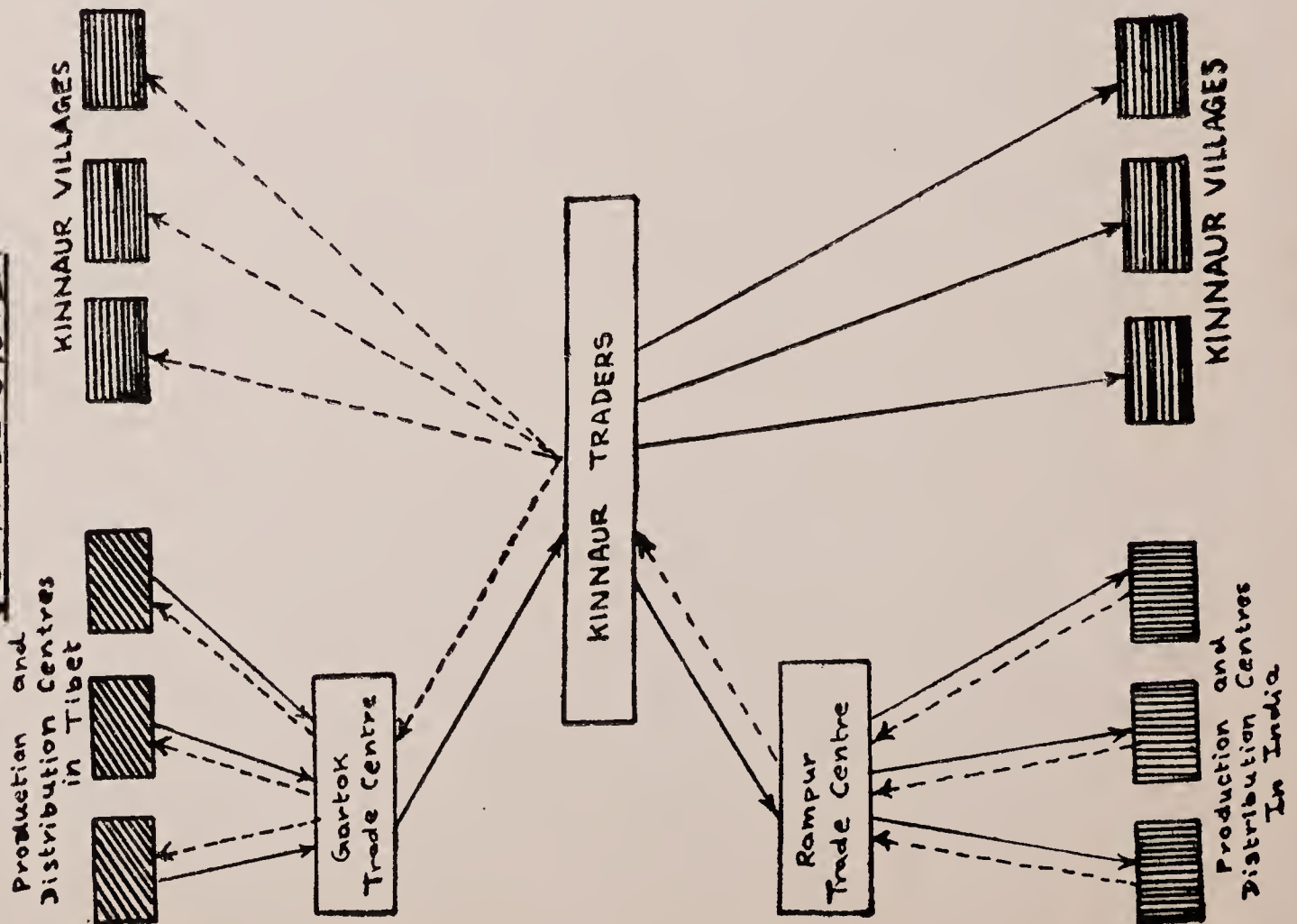
- (1) Rampur, in Bushahr ; to Leh *via* Spiti and across Bara Lacha Pass.
- (2) Rampur, *via* Sunium to Shalkar
- (3) Rampur *via* Shipki to Gardokh or Garo.

These are the regular highways between Hindustan and Tibet open throughout the year. There are several branch roads leading to the interior of the valley of Spiti and also to different towns of Tibet. "These roads are frequented in fine weather and according to season traders are found on them. Before the rains a good deal of traffic comes down the valley of the Bispā.... Those mentioned above are the most direct routes from Kunawar—at the northern extremity of the main road from Simla to.....the principal town of the province of Rudokh" (1908 : 86-87). The trade with Ludhiana, Amritsar, Nurpur etc. developed spontaneously as a result of the demand of *shawl* wool in these places. In favourable weather, the traders proceed up the dell of the Baspā to Chungsa or Neilung or by Chitkul but in the rains they make up frequently a circuit route via Harung Ghat, Murang and Nishung.

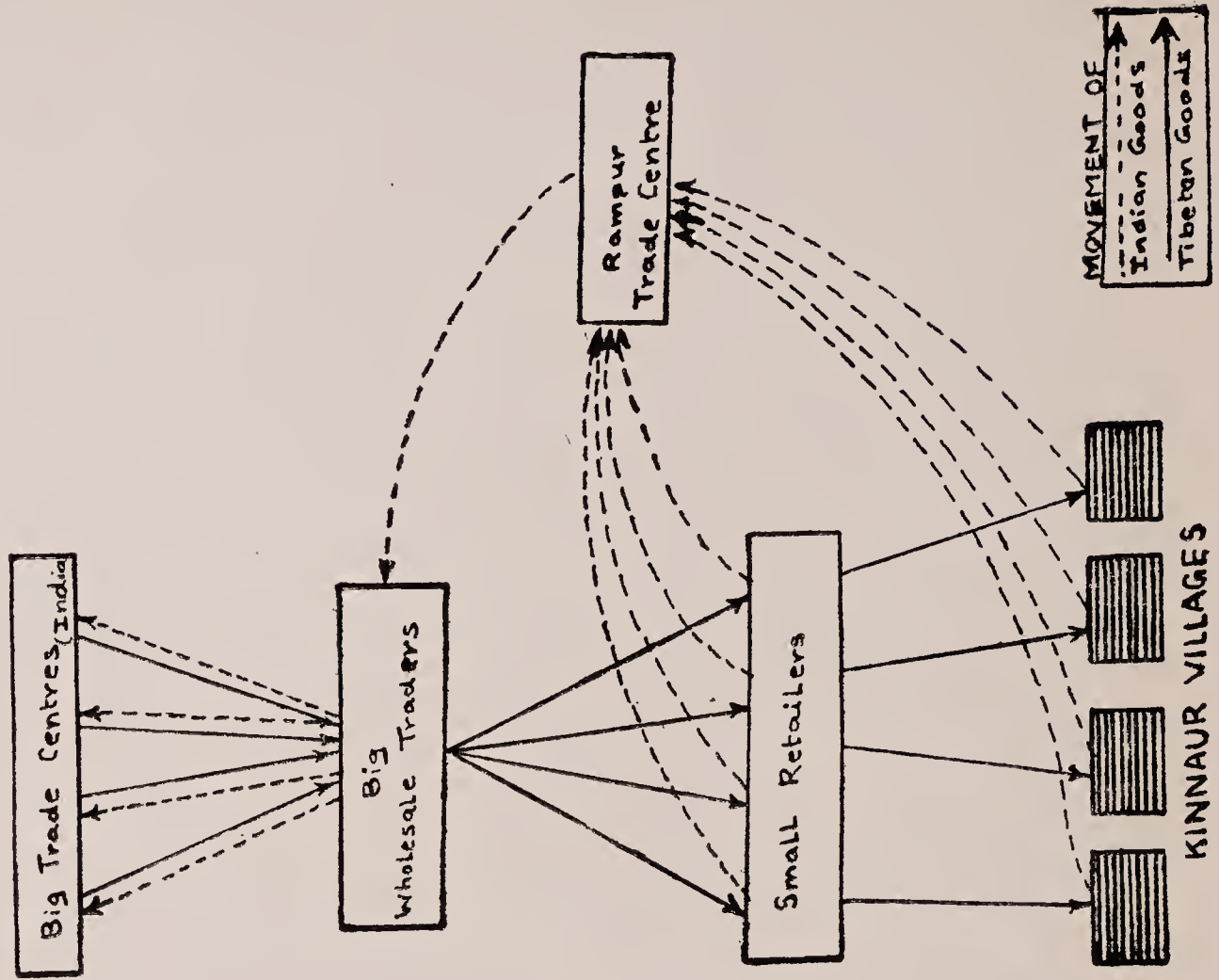
In Kinnaur the trade used to be carried out by the inhabitants of three out of five Kinnaur, *parganas i.e.* Tukpa, Shua and Sialkar. "The members of each, *pargana* form a separate group, and no member of

TRADE SYSTEM OF THE KINNAURESE

OLD TRADE SYSTEM



PRESENT TRADE SYSTEM



one group may join or trade with another group". (Gazetteer of Bushahr : 1911 : 62). The Tukpa and Shialkar people used the Sipki pass (*Sipki La*), and traders from Shua selected a pass between Sialkar and Spiti. At the trade centre where the business was usually done, each group of Bushahr traders had its own group of Tibetan traders, with whom it could trade and with no one else. Some places in Tibet were allotted to the Tukpa traders for transaction. The traders from Shua could trade with their counterparts at Chhang, Rodu, Sangmang, Ladakh, Machang, Gianma and Mongpa. The Sialkar traders were allotted with two areas Cho-Chalang and Chang-Gialong (1908 : 62). Kinnaur traders usually got some facilities in regard to sale and purchase of commodities in different places. This is because of the treaty signed by Gakden Chewang of Tibet and the Raja Kehr Singh of Bushahir. For this treaty the Kinnaurese traders were exempted from paying tax and were given proper protection from any harrassment or misappropriation of their trading right. These groups used to maintain certain codes of conduct, the breach of which was punishable. "If a person belonging to one group joins or trades with another group the members of his group punish him as well as the group which admitted him without their consent" (*op.cit.*). It was also seen that the traders going by the above mentioned trade routes had each a distinct part of the country set apart for trade, and any one trading in the area belonging to the other, was liable to arrest. Representatives of Kulu, Garhwal and Bushahar along with the representatives of Tibet acted as a council to try all cases of theft, and all evil and criminal suits were decided by that council. The money realised as fine was appropriated by themselves, a nominal sum of one or two rupees being paid to the Raja.

On Indian side Simla and Rampur were the main trade centres. But from "the principal mart for shawl wool" in Tibet the wool was brought direct to 'Koteghur, through Koonawar, a district lying within the snowy mountains and dependent upon the State of Bushahr'. (Lloyd & Gerard, 1846 : 174). Previously the famous *pashmina* (goat's wool) used to reach Kashmir from Tibet through Leh, the old Central Asian trade centre. As the Maharaja of Kashmir had complete monopoly over it, the British Government wanted to divert the trade through Kinnaur so that the trade could come to its direct control. As such the British Government opened a Government trade agency at Kotgarh to give easy access to the traders from the plains. Rampur, capital of erstwhile Bushahir State, was famous for trade. Of the three trade fairs, *Lavi* or *Lavi Kartika* operates from 12th November to 16th November (22nd of *Kartika* to 1st *Argrahana*), Dhal, from 26th December to 8th January (12th to 25th *Pousa*) and *Lavi Jaistha* on 13th and 15th of May (32nd *Baisakha* to 1st *Jaistha*). *Lavi Kartika* is the most famous one. During these fairs, thousands of people come to sell their products and also to buy their necessary goods. The Kinnaurese also come with their products. Earlier they used to bring various articles from Tibet

and other areas. These they used to sell and in exchange they used to purchase whatever they needed.

So far as exports and imports are concerned some specified items were involved in these (for the items of import and export between India and Tibet, their quantity and rates, see Chunningham, 1853 : 238-253). "The inhabitants supply themselves grains from more fertile districts, exchanging with those of the Pabur valley and others the production of their country, viz. salt, wool, woollen cloths, dried grapes and currants,..... Salt is brought from Bootan with which country a constant intercourse it kept up" (Fraser, 1820 : 263). A larger number of sheep and cattle were "reared in Kunawr and a great deal of wool is exported, both raw and woven" (*op.cit.*). The trade between Kinnaur and other hilly states and plains areas, was very limited. The chief items of imports were sugar, cloths, small quantity of iron-work, brass utensils, indigo etc. In return they used to export raw iron, blankets, opium, a little tobacco, musk, *bhang* (hemp), turmeric etc. "Exports to Bootan and Garha are corn to the nearer and barren parts, ghee from Kunawar, iron, opium tobacco and wooden cups of tea ; and from the plains it becomes a thoroughfare for all the common articles of produce manufacture as sugar. Salt, as much tea as they afford, with a little fine Chinese cloth, some musks, borax etc., are brought to exchange for low country commodities at Rampur..... Kunawar sends little to Ludhak besides ghee, but from various opening the produce of Hindustan is carried there through Cashmere" (*op.cit.* : 275). Both Lloyd and Gerard also marked that the most of the "people of Shooang are traders to Ludak, Garoo and Roodak. They used to take the produce of the plains such as match locks, sabres, sugar, tobacco, cloth, chintz, indigo, copper, powder, paper, iron grain, spices etc. and used to bring back chiefly salt and wool, some gold dust, tea, borax, and shawl wool....." (1846, II : 231, 276).

A committee formed by the merchants used to fix up the rates of all commodities. The table of rates prepared by this committee was circulated amongst the traders. Any one who used to charge more or less than the rates fixed, was considered guilty of an offence against the trading community. It was also settled that 'commodities' could not be sold before a fixed time.

To carry on the trade, the traders used to practise a definite system called *moshe*. This system was based on the relationship developed between the individual traders on either side of the border. Each individual trader from Kinnaur had one or a few traders at Tibet and other places with whom only the Kinnaur trader should trade. So his counterpart/counterparts in Tibet were called *moshe*. The trader from Indian side could not trade with any trader other than his *moshe*. He was free to trade with others when his Tibetan *moshe* was not present. According to this system a contract was made and signed by the Kinnaurese

trader and his *moshe* in Tibet. The *moshe* used to keep this contract duly signed under a sealed cover.

As per this contract the Kinnaurese trader, before he returned to his country, used to advance some cash or some articles to his *moshe* and also used to get some advance from his *moshe*. Next year the Kinnaurese trader used to take with him some specific articles as wanted by his *moshe* in exchange of his advance. Similarly his *moshe* also used to bring the specified articles as wanted by him. Sometimes the Kinnaur trader used to keep animals like sheep, goat, yak etc, with their Tibetan *moshe* and used to get back milk products and off-springs annually. If any of the parties was found to be guilty of the breach of contract of *moshe* system, that party would have to pay fine worth the weight of half of the pebble of gold.

The other system, indetical with the *moshe*, was *dopchak*. Under this system traders of the countries developed a system of mutual co-operation and agreement among them and this sort of adjustment is known as *dopchak*. Under this system traders of both the sides used to make an agreement that trade commodities would be sold to the traders under contract, through a middleman called *ngonshe*. Traders outside this contract could not get things; only the excess goods and goods not under contract could be sold to other traders also through the *ngonshe* provided traders under contract refused to buy those. The *ngonshe* in exchange of his service, used to charge certain commission from the parties which he used to get mostly in terms of kind. Again he used to sell the articles which he used to get as commission. If any of the parties was found guilty of the breach of contract of *dopchak*, that party would have to pay a fine.

But the trade between Kinnaur and Tibet was stopped alongwith the closure of the border during the Chinese aggression. Of course, the discontinuation of trade has definitely compelled them to face a temporary economic crisis. But this hardship is gradually freezing away as these people have opened a number of sources of livelihood, such a internal trade, with the neighbouring areas of the Indian mainland, labour in constructional and developmental works, horticulture, service in public and private sectors, etc. At present, many Kinnaurese are engaged in business. The recent development activities have opened up the area and has facilitated both import and export. Further, the incentives given by the Government has enhanced this function. As a result, various commodities like apple, walnut, almond, grapes and various other green and dry fruits, and vegetable seeds of cabbage, turnip, sugar beet, English carrot etc. are likely to be exported in large quantities in near future. The imported articles, which come to Kinnaur now-a-days, include sugar, tinned stuff, condiments and spices, salt and oil, food grains, cloth, stationary articles, implements made of iron luxury goods hosiery goods, fabrics, footwear, brass and alluminium utensils, oil both edible and kerosene, building materials, furniture, books cigarettes

and tobacco, leather goods, articles of sports, and various other things.

With the absence of any regulated market and also of big *mandi*, the internal business has not much developed. The only important business centre, which used to control the business of the whole area, was Rampur, the capital of erstwhile Bushahir State. It was a famous wholesale business centre. Here people from various hills and plains areas used to bring indigenous and exported commodities, and sale and purchase of these articles took place there. It is still considered as a very important business centre. But in recent years with the development of transport system, centres of business are springing up at Kalpa, the district Headquarters of Kinnaur, Pooh, Nachar, Karcham, and Tapri. "The co-operative societies, small production-cum-training centres and *khadi gram udyog* centres are looking after the local products like *gudmas*, shawls, wool, *neoza*, zira". (Mamgain, 1971 : 188). Besides, a good number of shops dealing in retails have already come up in different places in Kinnaur such as Kalpa, Tapri, Pawari, Shongton, Pooh, Chaura, Wangtu, Nachar, Sangla and Karcham. Small shops and small retail merchants are spread over the whole district. These shops, both big and small, are owned by the Kinnaurese as well as by the non-Kinnaurese. The latter are mostly hailed from various districts of Himachal Pradesh, Punjab and Haryana. Many of these merchants who have opened shops in Kalpa, Poari, Tapri, Nachar and some other places have both retail as well as wholesale business. They bring various commodities from various big trade centres of Himachal Pradesh, Punjab, Haryana, Delhi, even of Calcutta and supply the same to the small shop owners of the Kinnaur villages. Those whole-sellers are mostly non-Kinnaurese and the small shop owners or retailers are both Kinnaurese and non-Kinnaurese.

So it may be said that the wholesale trade of the day-to-day commodities is mostly in the hand of the non-Kinnaurese, the Kinnaurese deal with the retail sale through some small shops.

At Chango, there are seven shops. Of these one is a stall owned by the Parvatiya Khadi and Gramodyog Sangh who sell Khadi and cotton cloth, woollen cloth, particularly *pattu*, cotton and woollen *chaddar*, blanket, chappal, soap, oil etc. These three are owned by the local Rajputs one of whom is from Nako village while the other two from Chango. The fifth stall is a tea-cum-cigarette one owned by a Rajput of this village. The rest two shops are tailoring shops, of which one is owned by a local Rajput while the other by a Koli. At Namgia village under Pooh sub-division there are three shops two of which are owned by the local Kinnaurese while the third belongs to a man from Punjab.

At Kongos, there is only one tea-cum-cigarette shop owned by a Nepali. For their day-to-day requirements the villagers go either to Nachar (4 km.) or to Sholdingkhad (3 km.) from the village. There is no shop at Sungra village. Villagers go to Nachar (2 km.) for marketing.

At Rogi there is no shop. For marketing the inhabitants of this village go to Kalpa (6 km.). Similarly at Duni village there is no shop. People depend on Kalpa (2 km.).

As already said the businessmen in Kinnaur are composed of both Kinnaurese and non-Kinnaurese. There are 85 shops in Kalpa and Pooh town. The identity of the caste of the owners of these 85 shops in these two towns (Table 25) reflects that the majority (57.65%) of the shop-owners are non-Kinnaurese who are hailed from different places of Himachal Pradesh, Punjab, Haryana, Uttar Pradesh and Delhi. The rest 42.35% of course, are the Kinnaurese. In Kalpa town there are 54 shops of which 68.54% are owned by the non-Kinnaurese and the rest 31.48% held by the Kinnaurese. But in Pooh town, the picture is different. Here of the total 31 shops of various types, owners for 61.29% are the local people, *i.e.*, the Kinnaurese, while the rest of them (38.71%) belong to the outsiders, *i.e.*, non-Kinnaurese. It clearly indicates that in Kinnaur the outsider or non-Kinnaurese traders and businessmen have captured the major share of the Kinnauri internal trade and business. Rather, it may be said that the major share of the non-agricultural economy of this hilly district is in the hand of the non-Kinnaurese. The same picture is very true for Kalpa town where also the non-Kinnaurese businessmen are taking the lead. At Pooh the outside businessmen less in number possibly because mainly of the difficult communication, lack of much business potentiality and also heavy transport cost. As this area is situated far off from Rampur or Simla, the main business centre, the non-Kinnauri businessmen took little interest to establish themselves there and develop the place as a business centre. Actually before 1960 there was no jeepable road connecting this distant town with other parts of India. Possibly for all these reasons the place was not very attractive to them.

At present Kinnaur has started developing its horticulture and started producing very good varieties of fruits. In this field also the outsiders are approaching and capturing the business. The Kinnaurese for the lack of capital and also transport are unable to carry on the business of fruit, both green and dry, to Rampur, Simla and other places. So they have to sell these at a very cheaper rate to the agents who are mostly the outsiders. These agents who often advance the money to the Kinnaurese horticulturists, purchase the fruits at a cheaper rate but sell these to Simla and other places at much higher rates, thus getting maximum profit out of the labour of the Kinnaurese.

Indebtedness

The problem of indebtedness among the inhabitants of this Himalayan district is as crucial as that present among the tribal and peasant people throughout India. A large number of households belonging to all the ethnic groups have been in debt. The reasons for taking loans as given

TABLE 25. Identity of shop-owners in two areas of Kinnaur

Place	Identity of the shop owners	TYPE OF SHOPS							All types
		Vegetable, fruits etc.	Stationery grocery	Tailoring	Hot-tea, sweet, meat	Cobblers	Radio, watch, electric	Saloon	
Kalpa town	Kinnaurese	5	7	4	1	—	—	—	17
	Non-Kinnaurese	2	7	6	8	7	4	3	37
Pooh town	Kinnaurese	1	10	2	5	—	1	—	19
	Non-Kinnaurese	1	2	2	1	4	—	2	12
Total	Kinnaurese	6	17	6	6	—	1	—	36
	Non-Kinnaurese	3	9	8	9	11	4	5	49

by Report of the Government of Himachal Pradesh is the 'excessive expenditure as compared getting loan developed with the increase of prices of different commodities which resulted in the increase of cost of living'. Alongwith the development, social complications have also played crucial role. So, they now-a-days incur more expenditure for attending social and religious obligations. But the production has failed to cope with the increased cost of living index, and so their various sources of income are unable to balance their budget.

The present study undertaken among different ethnic groups of three villages, Chango, Kongos and Rogi from three different culture zones, shows a very miserable picture (Table 26). At Chango out of 116 Rajput households 92 (7.31 %) are under debt. While among both the Koli and the other ethnic groups 80.00 % of the total households have incurred loan.

At Kongos condition is no less miserable. Out of 40 Rajput households, 28 (70.00 %) are in debt. Again among the Koli, 26 (86.67 %) out of 30 households have taken loan and among the other ethnic groups 2 out of 3 households have similar fate.

At Rogi where the condition is also similar, the majority of the Rajput households (70.00 % out of 40 households) are in debt. Identically, 16 households of the Koli, out of their total of 22 households, (72.73 %) have taken loan. The two households of other ethnic groups have also taken loan.

The households of all the three villages, have taken loan in cash or in kind or in both. At Chango of the total households of the Rajput and the Koli accepting loans, majority (59.78 % and 75.00 % respectively) have taken both cash and kind loan whereas the majority of OEG households in debt (50.00 %) have taken loan only in kind.

At Kongos, on the other hand, majority of the Rajput and the Koli households (78.57 % and 73.08 % respectively) have taken cash loan only. The Koli have not taken any loan in kind. But all the households of other ethnic groups under debt, have taken loan both cash and kind.

The households of the village Rogi have shown some uniformity in this regard. Among the Rajput of this village while 42.86 % of the total households in debt have taken cash loan, 21.43 % have taken loan in kind and 35.71 % both in cash and kind. Among them the trend is almost similar while 43.75 % of the total indebted Koli households have taken loan in kind, 37.50 % have taken loan in cash and 18.75 % both in cash and kind. The households of other ethnic groups who are in debt have taken both in cash and kind.

So it is seen that majority of the Kinnaurese households are in debt, and they have taken loan in cash or in kind or in both.

A survey undertaken by the district authorities in 1965 at Chango village shows that out of 106 household belonging to all ethnic groups 84 (79 %) were in debt, and these households had taken Rs. 72, 407.00 as loan. The same survey conducted at Kongos shows that of the total

TABLE 26. Distribution of households under debt in Kinnaur

	C H A N G O				K O N G O S				R O G I			
	Rajput		Koli		Rajput		Koli		Rajput		Koli	
	No. of Household	%	No. of Household	%	No. of Household	%	No. of Household	%	No. of Household	%	No. of Household	%
Total Household	116	100.00	10	100.00	5	100.00	40	100.00	30	100.00	3	100.00
Total Household not under debt	24	20.69	2	20.00	1	20.00	12	30.00	4	13.33	1	33.33
Total Household under debt	92	79.31	8	80.00	4	80.00	28	70.00	26	86.67	2	66.67
Cash Loan	18	19.57	—	—	1	25.00	22	78.57	19	73.08	—	—
Kind Loan	19	20.65	2	25.00	20	50.00	2	7.14	—	—	—	—
Cash and Kind Loan	55	59.78	6	75.00	1	25.00	4	14.29	7	26.92	2	100.00

68 households of this village, only 20 (29.41 %) were in debt. The total amount of loan taken by these households amounted to Rs. 7,960.00. Similarly the said survey at Rogi village conducted in 1965 states that out of a total of 60 households of this village, 25 (41.67 %) households had incurred loan amounting to Rs. 20,045.00.

A Government report on Kinnaur district speaks that out of the 140 sample households, 49 or 42.14 % households were in debt. Again out of the households in debt, 16.95 % took loan amounting to Rs. 4,100/- during 1969-70. Regarding the purpose of loan, 28.82 % households took loans for meeting the household expenditure, 16.95 % for horticulture purpose, 11.86 % for land improvement, 8.47 % for ceremonies and 33.90 % for other miscellaneous purposes.

Regarding the sources, 19 households got loan from Government, 2 from co-operative societies, 39 from money lenders and 11 from friends and relatives. Certain households have taken loan from a number of sources.

The total loan taken during the preceding five years ending 1969-70 by the 59 sample households amounted to Rs. 67.28 thousand out of which Rs. 62.79 thousand or 93.33 % remained outstanding at the end of the year 1967-70. The average debt per family in debt amounted to Rs. 1,064. Table 27 gives some impression about the indebtedness of different subdivisions of Kinnaur.

From Table 27 it is apparent that loan taken during 1969-70 forms only 6.09 % of the total loan (Rs. 67,280.00) taken during the period 1965-66 to 1969-70 whereas during last four years 1965-66 to 1966-67, 1967-68 and 1968-69, 93.90 % of the total loan were taken, *i.e.*, the amount of loan taken during each year of the last four years is much more than the amount of loan taken during 1969-70. Further, it is also important to note that only 6.67 % of the total loan have been repaid and a major portion of the amount remains outstanding.

TABLE 27. Indebtedness in Kinnaur.

Block	Sample Household	Households reporting debt	Loan taken		Loan outstanding at the end of 1969-70
			1969-70	1965-66 to 1968-69	
Kalpa	50	16	2,100	10,200	10,000
Pooh	43	14	300	27,575	27,575
Nachar	47	29	1,700	25,405	25,211
Total	140	59 (42.14 %)	4,100 (6.09 %)	63,180 (93.99 %)	62,786 (93.33 %)

Economic specialization and symbiotic relationship

As stated earlier the Kinnaurese are composed of five ethnic groups—the Rajput (Kanet or Khosia), the Koli, the Lohar, the Badhi and the Nangalu. Of these the Rajput are land-owners and agriculturists while all other castes have specific caste occupation. Besides agriculture, the Koli do the spinning, weaving tailoring and also play musical instruments in the temple and also on different occasions. Some of them particularly in the Pooh sub-division also do the leather work. Now-a-days their attention has been diverted towards daily wage earning as many constructional and developmental works are going on in this region. These are acting as a good source of income. Earlier they used to dispose off the dead body; but they have almost given up this job these days. Lohar are the blacksmiths in Kinnaur. They prepare iron implements for agriculture and horticulture proposes. Besides, they also make silver ornaments. At present, the younger people among them are getting interested to work as labourers in various developmental and constructional works. The Badhi are the carpenters and mason. They do all sorts of carpentry works; particularly they make doors and windows for the house. And as mason they construct new houses and repair the old ones. The Nangalu are skilled in basketry. They prepare basket with a kind of creeper, locally known as *nagul* (the name of the castes has been derived from this creeper). These people are only found in lower Kinnaur (Nachar and parts of Kalpa sub-divisions) where only this type of creeper is found.

The Rajput throughout Kinnaur, are the land owners and agriculturists. Earlier the wealthier section did not till the soil by their own hand but used to give land to the poor Rajputs and the Koli for share cropping. They used to employ them and are still employing them as share-croppers or agricultural labourers (*halas*). Besides agriculture, the Rajput are also doing masonry, carpentry, and even weaving in those villages where there is no Lohar Badhi or Koli. But in general, all the above mentioned artisan castes work for the Rajput and also for themselves. The Lohar make agricultural and horticultural implements and also the silver ornaments mainly for the Rajput, the Badhi prepare wood works and do masonry works mainly for the Rajput, the Koli weave and tailor clothings mainly for the Rajput and the Nangalu prepare basket also mainly for the Rajputs. This is because the Rajput are politically, socially and economically the most dominant ethnic group. In olden days, in exchange of their services these artisan caste groups used to get cereals from the Rajput. Even these days the same system is prevalent. Only in certain cases, cash is also given in lieu of kind. This type of symbiotic co-operation between various ethnic groups which is admitted as the *jajmani* system in many parts of India, is known as *shingmo* or *halas* when it is in the agricultural field and *binana* or *zothit* when the co-operation exists in the non-agricultural sphere. The non-agricultural symbiosis is known as *binana* in Pooh Tehsil and Morang

sub-Tehsil of Pooh sub-division, Kalpa and Nachar sub-divisions or *zothit* in Hangrang Tehsil. In Kinnaur this system was developed amongst various castes, mainly between two sects of castes, the Rajput on the one hand and the other castes on the other, as the Rajput depended on the different artisan groups for various economic persons. All these systems of symbiotic co-operation existing among various caste groups here, are discussed below in brief.

Shingmo or halas

This system exists only in the agricultural field and particularly between the Rajput and the Koli. Under this system, a Koli cultivates the land of one or more Rajput families. Usually he performs all the agricultural works and also helps his client in irrigating the land through *kul* (artificial canal) or *chasma* (natural stream). He is known as *shingmo* or *halas*. In return to his works, he gets an amount of cereals which depends on the nature and amount of his work. It is also customary to invite the *halas* when some ceremony takes place in the house of his Rajput masters. On this occasion the *halas* gets cooked food and also *chhang* or *ghanti* (home brewn wine). Similarly when some ritual is celebrated by the *halas* he invites his Rajput masters who actually does not accept cooked food. During some fairs and festivals, the *halas* is in a similar way, invited and entertained by his Rajput landowners.

Now a days, with the opening of many avenues and with the effect of cash and market economy, many Kolis who are keeping themselves busy as labourers in the various construction works undertaken by the Government, are not favouring this type of work of the agricultural labour. As a result, the Rajput landowners, who were so long depending on the Koli for agriculture, have come down to the field and started tilling the soil by their own hand. Big land owners, of course, have given the land on share to the landless Rajputs or Kolis or are establishing *binana* system with the Rajput who have small land holding.

Binanas

The *binana* system of mutual co-operation between the non-artisan and artisan groups in Kinnaur is prevalent in the non-agricultural field only. This type of exchange persists between the Rajput on the one hand and the Koli, the Lohar, the Badhi and the Nangalu castes on the other. With the Koli, they have two types of *binana* depending on the nature of works done by them. One is *bonu binana* system and the other is *sui binana*. For all these *binana* system a close relationship develops between the two ethnic groups. One extends the invitation to the other when some social or religious ceremony is celebrated in one's house. In the same way one comes forward to help the other when one's client is in trouble.

Bonu binana

Where the Koli are the weavers and they serve the Rajput by weaving their woollen clothings, the Rajput establish *bonu binana* with them. Under this system the Rajput give the Koli a quantity of wool which they later spin and weave and make required woollen clothings. In lieu of this service the Koli weavers get a quantity of cereals from his client. Now-a-days, of course, the Koli also get cash in certain cases.

Sui binana

Sui binana is present between the Rajput and the Koli who tailor the garments of the Rajput (*sui* to stitch). Under this system a Rajput gives the Koli, who is a tailor, the required woollen or cotton clothing from which the latter will prepare the dress for the former. In exchange, the Koli gets his fee either in cash or in kind. But with the opening of a number of tailoring shops in some big villages mostly owned by the non-Kinnaurese and also due to the availability of the ready-made garments, the importance of the *sui binanas* is gradually decreasing.

Besides the above two *binana* system between the Rajput and the Koli, some other co-operative exchange systems are also present between these two ethnic groups in certain villages. Where the Koli do the leather works, they prepare shoes for the Rajput. Similarly, where the former group dispose of the carcass of the animals, they serve the Rajput in doing so. In an identical way, the Koli sometimes act as messenger for the Rajput. In this case he takes the news of the death from a Rajput family and informs his relative living on other villages. But all these types of *binana* are not very much in vogue among these two groups, now-a-days, as the Koli have also given up the practice of leather works, disposal of the carcass or of a carrier of the death news.

Ores binana

This type of *binana* system is present between the Rajput and the Badhi castes (The Badhi are also known as the Ores). Under this system the Badhi serve the Rajput by carpentry and masonry works. He prepares furniture doors and windows. He also makes and repair house for them. Whenever a Rajput has to build a house or repair the same, he calls Badhi with whom he establishes *ores binana*. So he takes up the work and serves his Rajput client through his profession. In exchange he gets, in a similar way, some cash or cereals. During the period of work he gets one meal a day and also the drink, (tea or *ghanti*) for the whole period of work. As he finishes his work, his client gives him and his family members a sumptuous feast. In certain cases, he gets a set of clothes also if his client can afford it. In case of *ores binana* also, a Badhi is invited by his client when in latter's house some festivity goes on. In a similar way, the Badhi also invites his client when some ceremony is held in his house.

Domang binana

The *domang binana* system exists between the Lohar (who are also known as the *domang*) and the Rajput. Under this system the Lohar prepare iron implements for the Rajput. They also make silver ornaments for the Rajput women. In the villages under Hangrang Tehsil, the *domang binana* is known as *zothit*. The Lohar prepares whatever implements a Rajput household requires, mainly for the agricultural purposes throughout the year. In an identical way he also prepares ornaments of silver or repairs the same. For marriage purposes also he makes the ornaments for a Rajput house. Sometimes, the Rajput supply him with the raw materials. For this service he takes certain quantity of food grains twice a year. These food grains are usually given after harvest. Besides, at the time of preparation he gets some advance also. In an identical way like other *binana*, he is also invited in the socio-religious ceremonies held in the house of his client. In his turn he also invites the *binana* in his house on ceremonial occasion. Under this system usually a Lohar does not charge anything from his client for the repair works. But he charges while making new articles.

As all these artisan castes are present in a village in lower Kinnaur, the villagers need not travel a long distance to get the services of any artisan. If all these artisan castes are not available in one village, the villagers, at the most, go to the adjoining villages to get the specific artisan group. But in the villages within Hungrang valley, sometimes, it is difficult to get all these castes in a village and even in the neighbouring villages. As such in the villages here the *zothit* plays an important role in keeping the *binana* system smoothly running. In some villages the Badhi are not present. In such cases the *zothit* performs the functions of the Badhi. In addition to their own work the Lohar also do the works of the Badhi, that is, the carpentry and masonry works. In an identical way, they also do some works of the Koli, like weaving and tailoring when there is no Koli tailor in a village.

Chanalas binana

The *binana* system which exists between the Rajput and the Nangalu, is called *chanalas binana* (The Nangalu are also known as the *chanala*). These Nangalus make baskets with the bark of the creeper, *nangal* for the Rajput mostly. As such a traditional bond has developed between the Nangalu family and the Rajput families. The latter in return, pay back mostly in kind (cereals) or sometimes in cash.

Kinnaur district is characterised by the absence of the Brahman. This is possibly one of the very few districts in India, where villages are generally devoid of any Brahman family. As a result no *binana* system develops between the Brahman and the Rajput. Though the Rajput of Kalpa and Nachar sub-divisions sometimes, invite the Brahman living in Sarahan area of Mahasu district (now under Simla district)

to perform certain rituals for them, but no *jajmani* relationship has yet developed in the strict sense of the term. Only in Sangla sub-Tehsil of Kalpa sub-division and some parts of Nachar sub-division, the Brahman from Sarahan periodically visit the Rajput households and perform socio-religious rites and rituals. Similarly though the Buddhist Lamas are found in many villages in Kalpa sub-division and most of the villages of Pooh sub-division, yet such symbiotic relationship has not developed between them. Possibly the ethics of Buddhism disallows this though these Lamas take active interest in the social and religious norms and practices of the people.

The *binana* system is a very old traditional bond of mutual co-operation and exchange of work between the Rajput and the various functional castes. It is hereditary in nature. Each artisan household has a batch of the Rajput households as its clients. The members of this artisan family work for its clients. In exchange, the Rajput clients help the artisan household by giving cereals, vegetables or even cash for the service. In case of any religious festivity, whether at the level of household or of community, the households under the *binana* bond invite one another and offer feast. Barely a household under this system tries to get rid of its client. This mutual symbiotic relationship kept and is still keeping a healthy inter-ethnic interaction though in recent years, a change in the relationship is visible which might, in one day, disrupt the whole process.

Besides the above *binana* system between various ethnic groups, two more systems are present in Kinnaur. These two systems, the *bhoara* system and the *mokomo kheyasimig* system, involves the members of the same ethnic groups.

Bhoara system

This system is present mostly among the Rajput. Under this system related persons come forward to help one of their relatives in his economic pursuits and also in social affairs when he requires man-power. The helping relatives are usually supplied with food. In return, he will also be in obligation to help those helpers when they are in need.

Mokomo kheyasimig

This system of exchange of work is present among the Rajput in which one invites ones neighbours (*paspang* or *padesas*) or co-villagers, (*deshang*) related or non-related, for help. When the exchange of work exists between a man and his neighbours, it is called *mokomo paspang* but when it is between a man and his co-villagers, who may not be his neighbours, it is known as *mokomo desang*. The conditions are the same as the previous one (*bhaora* system).

Economic classes

If somebody lives for a few days in Kinnaur, he will not feel difficulty in distinguishing the two economic classes in Kinnaur. One is the richer section and the other the poorer section. This age old economic class structure has been formed out of the possession of land and livestock wealth. These economic classes, again, follow the cash structure. The big land and livestock owning Rajputs are the members of the former class while the poorer Rajputs and particularly the other castes such as the Koli, the Lohar, the Badhi and the Nangalu form the poorer class.

As one visits a Kinnaur village, he will meet with some wealthy households in the village who invariably belong to the Rajput group. A rich Koli or a rich Lohar or a rich Badhi is not found in Kinnaur. This richer section of the Rajput actually holds the authority in the village life and gives the leadership to the villagers. This was wholly true in the past. Even in these days a sharp contrast can easily be drawn in all the spheres of life of these two economic classes. In their material life the members of the richer section maintain a better standard, wear better dress and lead a more lavish way of life in comparison to the other villagers. They also have many modern furniture and costlier utensils. They get better food and can afford to give their children better education from outside Kinnaur. In other aspects of the material life also, clear distinction can be made between the two sections. The members of the poorer section have small dirty half-broken houses with very insufficient living space, old insufficient clothings which hardly can protect them from the pinches of the snowy winter, scanty furniture and utensils and a relatively uncomfortable life in the rugged geographical conditions. Radio can only be seen in the house of the rich. In Kalpa and Nachar area only a few houses of the poor have been electrified.

In their economic life, disparity between these two economic classes is well marked. Land holding is significantly high among this richer people while the poor have very meagre land or no land at all. Further, the more fertile and better irrigated land belong to the former section. In the field of agriculture and horticulture the richer class is in a more advantageous position than the other one. From their more fertile land they get better production and definitely they are in a position to use improve technical knowhow, to enable themselves to get better production which is definitely beyond the scope of the poorer class. In Kinnaur most of the fruit trees are under the possession of the richer class, and naturally they earn substantial cash from horticulture. Moreover the richer class has more domestic animals, particularly, sheep and goat which yield substantial wool and meat. But among the poorer people the number of such animal is significantly low.

Those who are in better position in service or in business are all from the richer class. Only a very negligible number come from the other economic class. The main reason is that the richer class can afford to

have higher education which help them in securing better job and also have better access resources and capital.

Another important thing which may be pointed out here is that as the Rajput belong to the tribal group⁴ and as they form 68.41 % of the total population of the district, they are in a privileged position to receive the maximum share of the facilities allocated for the Scheduled Tribe. Further as the district is in general, backward and situated in the border areas, the schemes taken up by the Government for the development of this district, render maximum benefit to the Rajputs. And naturally the economically well off class of this district usually gets the major share of these benefits.

In their society, this wealthier class secures a very high position. Most of them belong to the *orang* which is the superiormost status group. Similarly, their *khandan* are in the highest order. The prohibition of the social intercourse between different status groups also signifies the class consciousness among the members of these status groups. An *orang* who is economically well off, will not establish marital relation with a *maorang* or a *waza* who are not affluent. When they give their daughters to marry or bring wife for their sons, they always think of their own status group and also the higher *khandan*. So, obviously, they search for a well-to-do family.

In the political life of a village this economically higher class has a better hold. In majority of the village panchayat, both *gram panchayat* and *naya panchayat*, they are holding the key positions. The village leaders belong to this class, and they actually give the leadership to the villagers.

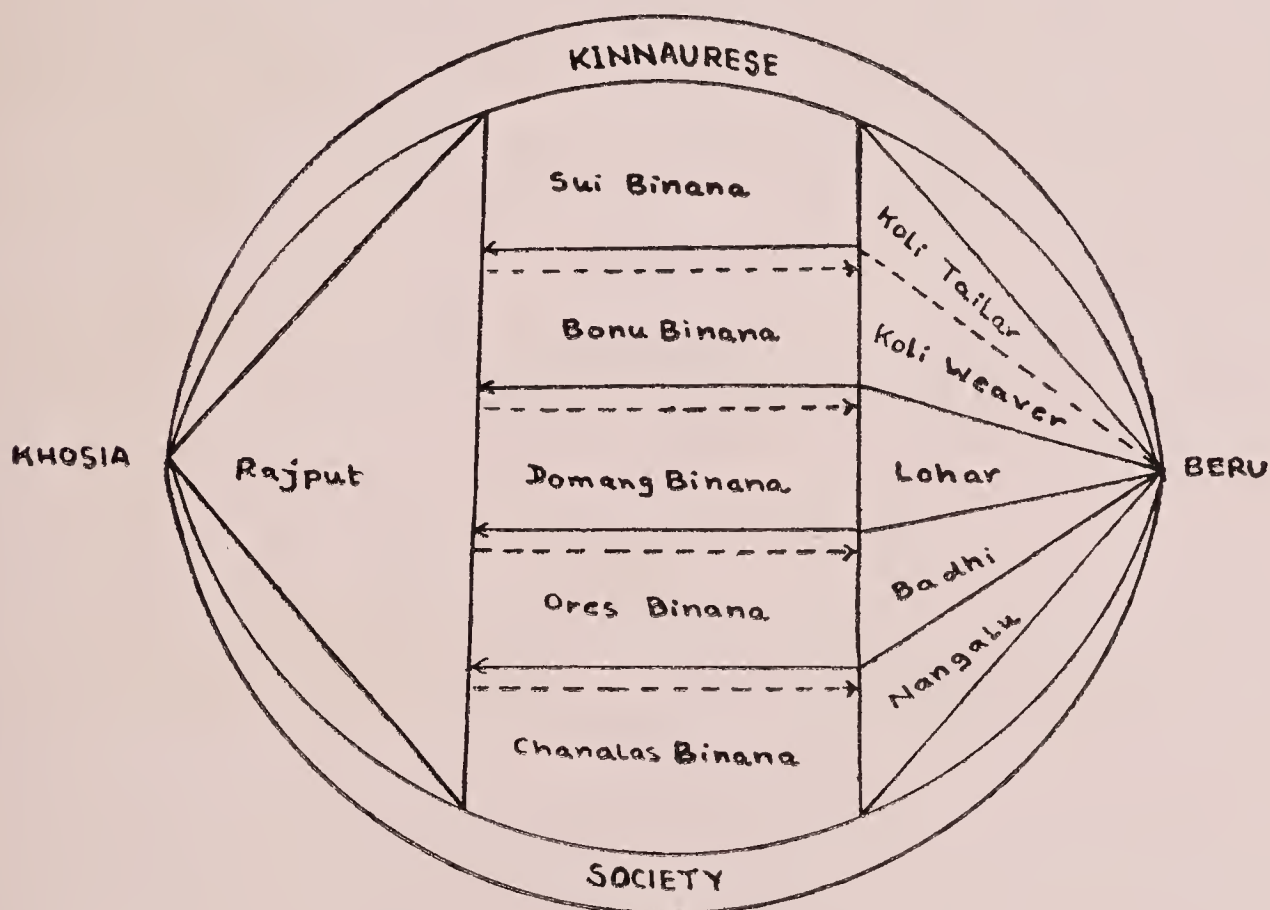
In the field of religion the supremacy of the higher economic class is clearly evident. The functionaries (*kardar*) of the temple mostly belong to the richer section of the village. Particularly, the office of the *grokoh* (who speaks to the villagers on behalf of the deity) and *matha* (who speaks to the deity on behalf of the villagers) are held by the economically better class. Therefore, the whole village has no other alternative than to depend on them in all aspects of their life. This is because in Kinnaur it is believed that the deity controls the village or the region through its functionaries. In this case a villager will have to depend on the *matha* to appeal to the deity, to solve his problem whenever any crisis arise as he is not authorised to communicate with the deity directly. Similarly, he will have to depend on the *grokoh* to know the desire and advice of the deity.

Thus it is seen that in all the spheres of the life of the Kinnaurese, the economically upper class enjoys a superior position. Their supremacy has led two different types of relation. It helped in bringing out a symbiotic relationship (*binana*) among the Rajput, particularly belonging to richer class, and the various artisan groups and also in forming an

⁴ In Kinnaur, the Kinnaurese are the Scheduled Tribe and the Koli, the Lohar, the Nangalu and the Badhi are Scheduled Castes.

employer-employee relationship between the landowning Rajputs and the landless (including those with meagre landholding) Rajputs and the Koli who were and still are working as daily labourers (*halas*) in their field. simultaneously, again it has helped in generating conflicts between these two classes. This agony of the lower economic class over the upper economic class often brings troubles. Particularly in recent years, with the interference of the political parties, this agony is often expressed openly. In the present days, many people belonging to the lower economic class, are getting employment as labourers in the various developmental and constructional projects. This has helped in avoiding confrontation between the two groups as now some of them can keep themselves away from the wealthier class, This was not possible earlier.

BINANA SYSTEM



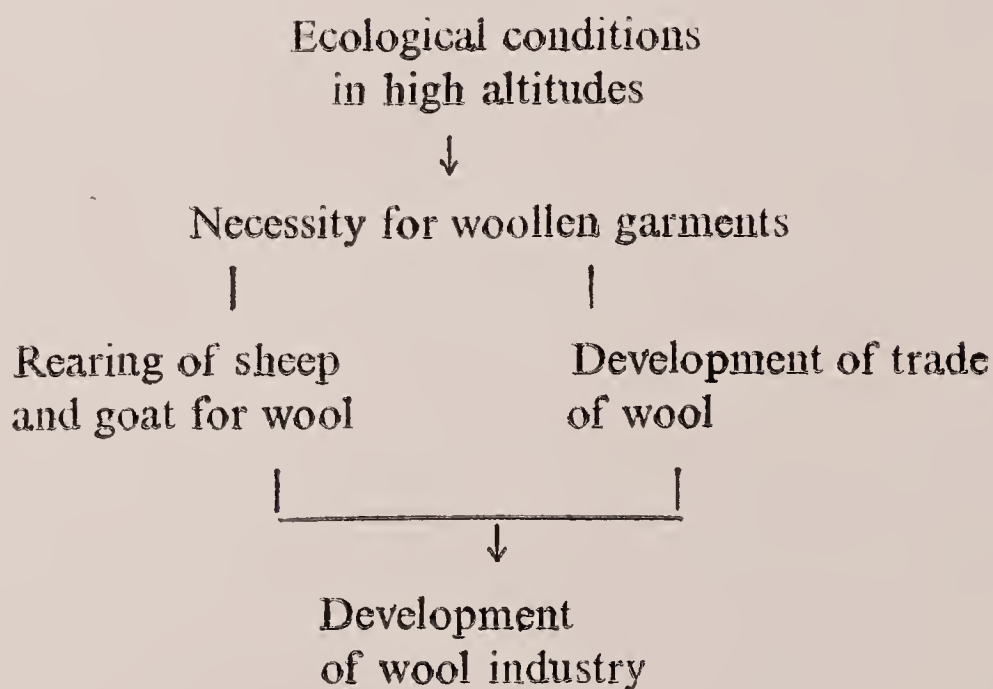
Ecology and economy

In Kinnaur, the environment has direct effect on their economy. Their very habitation in the rugged hilly terrains has formed them to adopt terrace agriculture. They prepare the terrace on the slopes of the hills or in the valleys and make these cultivable. Terrace cultivation is definitely a product of the peculiar ecology of the Himalayan areas. Again many of the produces from these cultivable land are also typical to the particular ecology. Certain crops are grown only on certain heights. The animals which are used for ploughing the land (yak, dzo, dzomo, etc.) are available only in high altitudes.

Secondly, in the field of the horticulture, *i.e.*, the fruit production,

Kinnaur has started producing various fruits such as apple, grape, almond pears, peach, etc. The horticulture in this district has a very bright prospect. Most of the varieties, which are produced here, can better be grown in the altitude and weather condition prevailing in Kinnaur.

As most of the parts of Kinnaur is situated at an altitude of over 6000 ft., naturally the inhabitants require woollen garments throughout the year. Earlier as this district had very little communication with the plains they could not depend on the plains areas for the supply of wool. So they had no alternative but to depend on themselves or on the wool producing countries of the Himalaya like Tibet. This resulted two important things—firstly, the rearing of livestock, particularly the sheep and goat, and secondly, the trade with Tibet. To have their own regular supply of wool, they started rearing these animals so that they could get uninterrupted supply of wool. When they felt that the wool produced by them in their own house, was not sufficient, they thought of importing the same. As the easy available source for wool was Tibet, they started developing the trade of wool with Tibet and Ladak. Similarly, in some parts of Kinnaur, where wool was produced in sufficient quantity, the inhabitants used to export the same. This gradually helped them in developing the trade of wool within the country.



Again for grazing these animals they needed pasture land. The valleys and plateau of Tibet afford very good pasture grounds. As a result, many Kinnaurese used to take their livestock to those areas. While they took the livestock to Tibet for grazing, they used to carry many items of trade with them for selling in Tibet. In this case the livestock used to act as their load carriers. Those articles were sold there, and in exchange, used to bring such articles which were essential to them. In this way the trade might have developed among them, and definitely regional ecology had direct as well as indirect effects on this aspect of their economy.

Even in the present days, the effect of ecology on their economy can clearly be traced out. As Kinnaur is situated on the border with Tibet, and as for defence point of view, the situation of this district is quite strategic, the government need to construct a number of roads. The roads are also required for the general development of the area. For the construction of these roads a large labour force is required and Kinnaur has supplied a good number of labourers. Again as these roads are being constructed on the hilly terrains of the Himalayas, unlike the roads of the plains, it requires constant maintenance throughout the year, particularly during the rainy season and also during the winter when there is snowfall. As a result a constant supply of labour force is required for the maintenance. And in this regard, Kinnaur's contribution is not insignificant. Many Kinnaurese are, these days, earning a good sum out of sparing their labour. This is true for inhabitants of all the hilly areas of central and western Himalayas. In a similar way, various constructional and developmental works, many of which are peculiar to the high altitude areas like Kinnaur, are also bringing impact on their economic life. The modern irrigation system introduced in certain places in Kinnaur, to channelise the water resources for irrigation purposes, is helping the development of their agricultural economy. Similarly, governments' step to steer up the cottage industry with the local raw materials is also an encouragement to their tottering economy. In an identical way the recent development of horticulture, particularly the green and dry fruits, is also boosting the economy of the Kinnaurese.

Changes in Kinnauri economy

As has already been stated, Kinnaur has shifted much from their past traditional economy. Two things are very vital in this regard; firstly, the closure of the border with Tibet and secondly, the opening of better communication and transportation system.

The economy of Kinnaur before the closure of the border has already been highlighted. But after 1962 when the border was sealed, they had to discontinue some of the traditional economic pursuits. The closure of the border compelled them to stop trade with Tibet wherefrom they were so long bringing many essential things of their day-to-day life, such as salt, butter, wool, livestock, etc. Similarly, they were taking various articles with them while they were going to Tibet. With the stoppage of trade their economy undoubtedly faced a temporary setback. Similarly, closure of border also led them to trouble for grazing their livestock. The practice of keeping the livestock in Tibet and in exchange getting the milk products, practised by a number of Kinnaurese in the past, has also been discarded for the above reason. Naturally, it has affected their economy. The stoppage of trade with Tibet has compelled them to turn their attention towards new sources of livelihood. In the right time the development and constructional works started by the government

for the overall improvement of the district came to them as the blessings of the god. Today, they have adopted several other alternative means of livelihood noted earlier.

The development of agriculture and horticulture are definitely boon to them. The development of the agriculture has brought more economic gain. Further many Kinnaurese have concentrated their attention to the fruit production which has definitely a very bright future. If the Kinnaurese get easy transportation and marketing facilities then, in the long run, Kinnaur will be able to send a huge quantity of the best varieties of apples and other fruits for various parts of India and abroad.

At present many Kinnaurese are found to engage themselves in service. Modern education and their desire for the cash, are the positive factors for leading the Kinnaurese to the salaried jobs. Particularly, those who have education, are very much fond of white colored job, and they always try to get those. The big land owners are now sending their sons for higher education and also technical education with the idea that they could get good service, with good salary. Thus they are in a way responsible for diverting the attention of their sons from the traditional barter economy to the present day cash economy.

The Land Reform Acts of the Himalachal Pradesh Government have also brought economic changes among the Kinnaurese. Earlier land in Kinnaur belonged to a few Rajputs only. Many Rajputs, Koli and other artisan did not have land. But now those who are landless or having very small area of land are getting the *nautor* land (new reclaimed land). As a result the people who were so long depended on labour and other non-agricultural occupations, are shifting their attention towards occupations based on agriculture.

S O C I A L S T R U C T U R E & C H A N G E



ETHNIC GROUPS AND THEIR SUBDIVISIONS

The Kinnaurese, a scheduled tribe, are not a single homogenous ethnic group but are composed of a number of ethnic groups. "The inhabitants of Kinnaur district are known as the Kinnaurese. They consist of some ethnic groups, and these are the Khosia or Rajput (who are also known as the Kanet), the Lohar, the Badhi or Ores, the Koli and the Nangalu" (Raha : 1975).

Though the Kinnaura or Kinnara have been declared as the Scheduled Tribe, some of the inhabitants of this district, who also claim them as Kinaura, such as the Koli, the Lohar, the Badhi or Nangalu, have been marked as Scheduled Castes. This definitely brings some confusion. The inhabitants of this district were mentioned as Kinnaura, Kinaura, Kinnara, Kinnawarees, Kanore, etc. (Kapoor : 1971 ; Raha : *op. cit.*). So these ethnic groups like the Lohar, the Koli, the Badhi or the Nangalu may also be treated as the Scheduled Tribes as they are also considered as the Kinnara. While we discussed this problem with the state and the district administration, they expressed that at one time they also felt difficulties in rendering facilities to them. Of course, at present, we were told, the authorities were treating them as Scheduled Tribes.

Social divisions

As already stated, the Kinnaurese are composed of different ethnic groups, and these are the Khosia or Rajput (who are also known as the Kanet), the Lohar, the Badhi or Ores, the Koli and the Nangalu (Raha : 1975). The social structure of the Kinnaurese, living in the different parts of Kinnaur district, shows differential traits. Broadly speaking the district may be divisible into two parts on the basis of the structure of the Kinnauri society. While we find simpler social stratification in Zone I, in Zone II and Zone III a more complicated structure can be traced (*op. cit.*).

The Kinnaurese may be divided into two broad categories—firstly, the Khosia or Rajput (Kanet) and secondly the Beru. While the former category includes the Rajput (Kanet) only, the latter category is again sub-divided into three sub-categories (i) the Domang which includes the Lohar and the Badhi or Ores (ii) the Chamang which includes the Koli and (iii) the Chanala which includes the Nangalu. Joshi in his book, "Ethnography of Bushahir State", mentions that besides the Kanet and the Jad, two more castes are found in Kinnaur, and they are the Chamang who make shoes and weave and the Domang who are blacksmiths and carpenters (1912 : 29).

Apart from the Kanet or Jad, Crooks also found only two more castes in Kinnaur, and they were the Chamang who were shoe makers and weavers and the Domang, who were blacksmiths and carpenters (1974 : III).

Crooks has equalised the Chamang with the Chamars and the Domang with the Doms of the plains areas (*op. cit.*).

In Kinnaur the Rajput (Kanet) may be of two types, one who lives in most of the parts of Pooh sub-division (Zone I) while the other in Zone II and III and some parts of Zone I. The former section of the Rajput is known as the Jad while the latter as the Kanet, Khosia or Rajput.

The Gazetteer of the Simla District 1888-89 mentions four divisions among the Kanet. These are Bhaunthi, Parhiar, Chippar and Balhir having a common title Khundh (Char) and regarded higher in status. The other divisions are Baruri, Chakar, Kohal, Gahru, Katlehru, Suraji, Khash, Badni, Charola, Badalwal, Jalanu, Rohal Katalik, Pirwal, Janwal Dolal, Rohana, Kulharnun, Noru and Laddogarh (1889 : 43).

But according to Simla District Gazetteer of 1904, the most ancient divisions of the Kanet are the Shati and the Bashi. The Shati being followers of the Kurus, and the Bashi of the Pandavas, were formerly bitterly hostile to each other. But now they intermarry, though it is said that they still observe the *shivaratri* festival separately, the Bashi on the 14th day of the month and the Shati on the 15th (1908 : 29).

Besides the above two ancient divisions, the Kanet have three more divisions of inferior status. These are Khas, Rahu and Kuthara. "The Khas are the descendants of concubiness (*Khwas*) kept by Brahmans or Rajputs. The son of such a union is called *sartera*, if a *sartera* marries in his mother's or in a lower caste, his descendants in two or three generations, became Khash ; on the other hand, if he marries a Rajput or Brahman girl the status of the family can be recovered (*op. cit.*).

The name Rahu has been derived from Rahu, the sun devouring dragon of Hindu mythology though it is also said to be corrupt form of *mahu* a bee; the Kuthara, who are also known as Kurans are worshippers of Ketu.

The Kanet living in Baghal Kunhiar, Mahlog Kuthar, Bilaspur and Nalgarh, known as Tonur or Tanur Kanet, consider the hill Kanets inferior to them. The Tonur Kanet consider themselves the descendants of Raja Angpal, king of Delhi in 774 (Bikram). The old Kanets who are known as Noru, Neru, Nonu, Neonu, and Nolu, claim their descent from the Rajput. Similarly, the Agni Bansi and Pawar Kanets also put their claim from the Agnikul Rajputs. The Sam Kanets, on the other hand, reckon their descent from the Ranas of Kotkhai, Khaneti, Kumarsain and Delhat. The Maliaru Kanets are the descendents of the Rajas of Bilaspur and Nalgarh. The Chhibbar Kanets who consider themselves as Brahman, say that they are the immigrants from Lahore and Peshawar (now in Pakistan). The Dogra Kanet who also claim to be the twice born (Brahman), are hailed from Jammu. But the Badohi Kanets identify themselves as the branch of the Chauhans.

An inferior section of the Kanet is the *Jad* or *Zad* found in Bushahr, Lahaul and Spiti. Actually the Rajput of Pooh sub-division of Kinnaur

district and also of Lahaul and Spiti district are known as Zad, Myam or Zar.

According the Gazetteer of Simla Hill States 1910, the Kanet are divided into two classes, superior and inferior. The former one is known as the *Khas Kanet* or the real Kanet. In Bushahr those Khas Kanets, who trace their descent from the old *mawis*, are known as Khund Kanet. Neoru or Neru is the other name for those Kanet who trace their descent from the *mawis*. The children of Brahmans or Rajputs by the Kanet women also go by the name neru or neoru. The other Kanet of Bushahir are known as the *Ghara Kanet*.

Most of the Kanet of erstwhile Bushahir State of which Kinnaur was once a part, belong to Khas group. They are divided into two sub-groups, the Kuin Khash and the ordinary Khash. The former sub-group considers itself as superior to the latter. But the Kuran Kanets, who are identical with the Kanari and who along with the Rahu Kanets were originally the Khash, cover one third of the Kanet population of Bushahir (1911 : 21).

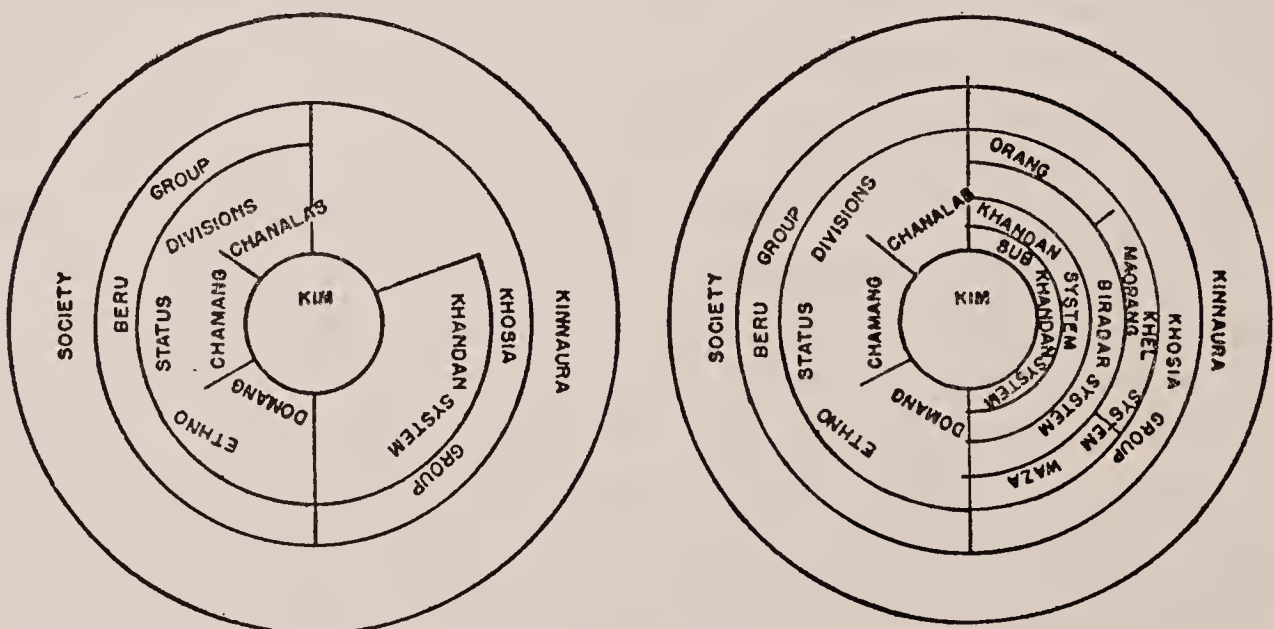
Thus it is seen that though the Kanet have a number of divisions, in Kinnaur only two types of the Kanets are found the Khash Kanet who mostly cover the Kalpa and Nachar sub-division and also parts (Maorang Sub-Tehsil) of Pooh sub-division, and the Zad (Jad) Kanet who live in some parts (Pooh and Hangrang Tehsils) of Pooh sub-division. In Kinnaur district these two types of Kanets are popularly known as the Rajput. Now-a-days they do not like to call them as the Kanet.

The Badhi and the Lohar form the sub-group Domang under the category, Beru. The Badhi are carpenters and masons 'and servants of the land owners from whom they receive food, and at harvest time a share of grains called *shikota*. Kanets and higher castes will not drink with them as they receive money at funerals and are consequently considered unclean' (1911 : 33). The Lohar on the other hand are ironsmiths who also make silver ornaments. "Like the Badhi they are servants of the land owners (*op. cit.*). The Koli who are the members of the sub-group Chamang under the group, Beru, numerically constitute the second largest population of Kinnaur after the Rajput. They also work for the high caste people. They spin and weave woollen cloths, and also cultivate the land. Only a very few of them do the leather work. The Nangalu are found mostly in Nachar sub-division. They prepare baskets from the bark of a creeper, *nangal*.

STATUS GROUP (KHEL)

Social stratification on the basis of hierarchy is a characteristic feature among the Kinnaurese. The two social divisions of the Kinnaurese, the Khosia and the Beru are based on social hierarchy. The former has the higher social status than the latter who are considered as socially inferior, and some of them are even untouchables.

The Khosia or the Rajput are again divided into three *Khel* or status groups. These are the orang, the maorang (who are also known as the orang mech; *mech*=inferior) and the waza. This type of status group is not existent among the Beru which is divided into four different castes with differential hierarchical position such as the Lohar, the Badhi, the Koli and the Nangalu. Among the Rajput, the three endogamous status groups are based on their hierarchical positions. The orang khel is considered as the superiormost while the waza khel remains at the bottom of the ladder of hierarchy. The members of the other khel, *i.e.*, the maorang or orang mech enjoy the intermediate status. All the khel enjoy their respective status in social, economic, political and religious spheres. The members of the orang khel are not only considered socially superior but their dominance can also be marked in the economic, political and religious spheres. The members of this superiormost *khel* have more land in proportion to the members of the other two *khel*; they hold key positions in the village councils or panchayats and send majority of the temple functionaries.



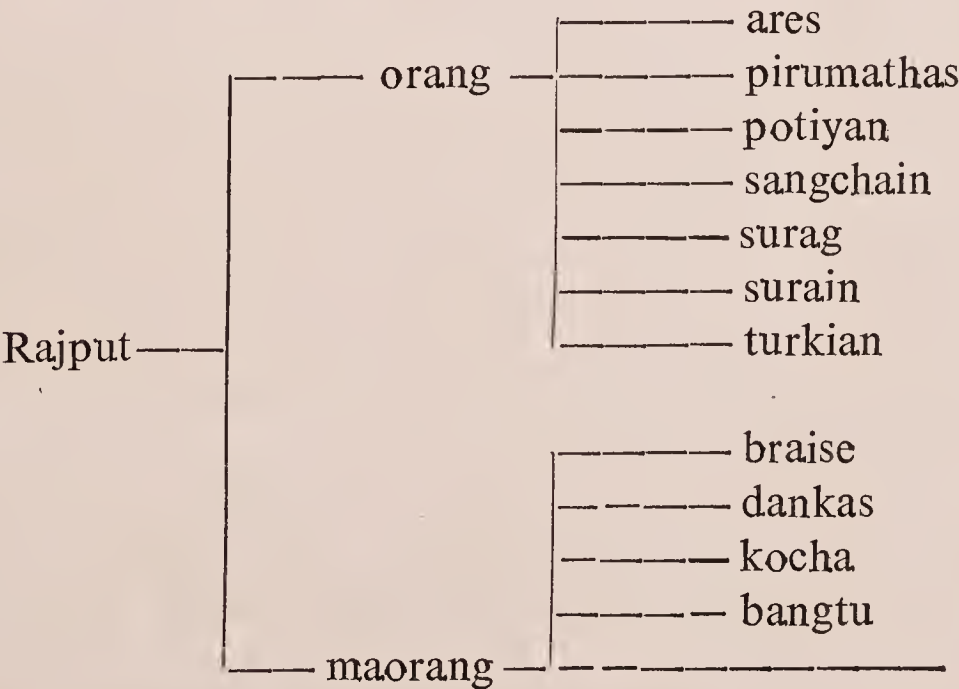
Next to the orang khel comes the maorang khel. Undoubtedly, the members of this *khel* have better social position than those of the waza. The economic condition of the members of the former *khel* is definitely better. In their political and religious life also the members of the maorang khel secure a better position than those of the waza khel. But on the other hand, the members of the maorang khel do not enjoy better positions over those of the orang khel.

This *khel* system is not uniform throughout Kinnaur. The peculiarity

of it is that it is in a rudimentary stage or absent in the areas where Buddhism prevails. That is why this *khel* system is well developed in Nachar and Kalpa sub-division (Zone II and III) where Hinduism is the dominant faith, it is rudimentary in some areas of Pooh sub-division (Zone I and II) but totally absent in Hangrang valley (Zone I). Throughout Nachar and Kalpa sub-divisions, three different status groups are quite well organised and can clearly be distinguished from one another. From these areas if one moves towards Pooh sub-division, one can observe this system gradually getting disorganised, disintegrated and diminished. Even in Morang area, the people have very little idea about this system. They are in a similar way, unable to distinguish between the three different *khel*. Beyond Pooh, the significance of this system dwindles and beyond Namgia this *khel* system ceases to exist. It clearly indicates that while Hinduism (local) provides this social stratification, and supports *khel* system, Buddhism prefers the simpler social organisation, and as such this social division is absent in the Hangrang valley where people follow Buddhism.

The status group of *khel* among the Rajput is divided into a number of lineages or *khandan*. These *khandan* are different for different *khel*. Same *khandan* does no exist in two different *khel*. Usually the *khandan* of the superior *khel* is considered as superior in status than that of the inferior *khel*. That means *khandan* of orang *khel* enjoys the highest status while that of waza *khel* has the lowest. The *khandan* of maorang *khel*, as usual have intermediate status. In the village Rogi the Rajput have only two *khel*, orang and maorang. So the original *khandan* of this village belong to either of these two *khel*. The waza *khel* is non-existent here.

Of the total eleven *khandan* of this village, seven (ares, parumathas, poliyan, sanchain surag, surain and turkian) belong to *orang khel* while the rest four (braise, dankas, kocha and pongtu) come under the other *khel*. These eleven *khandan* are regarded as traditional.



At Duni village the Rajput have all the three status groups.



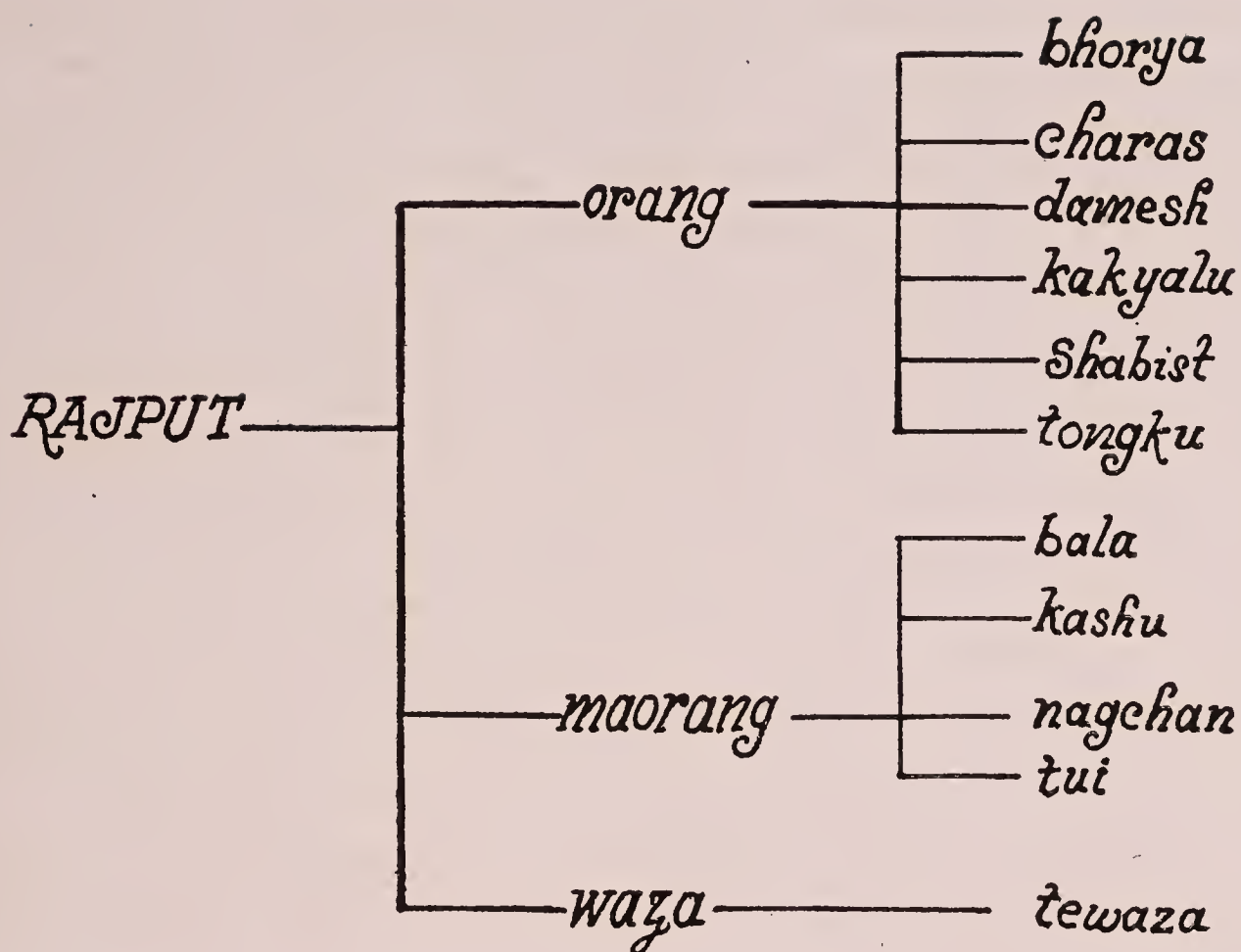
Each of these status groups has a number of *khandan*. The *orang* status group has five *khandan*—khasto, kusan, rangseru, kochapang, rekong, zadpang, krangelu, charas and motan are the four *khandan* of the *maorang* status group. Of these motan has carpentry as its profession. Though this *khandan* has been considered as belonging to the status group of *maorang*, but as their profession is considered inferior*, they are barred from marrying any other superior *khandan* of the *maorang* status group, as well as the *khandan* of the *orang* status group (Raha : 1979). For this reason the other *khandan* of the *maorang* status group do not favour any marital alliance with this *khandan* of *maorang* status group. The *waza* status group of this village has two *khandan*, nektu and rekpang. As *waza* status group is considered as having inferior status to the *orang* or the *maorang*, so the members of nektu and rekpang cannot marry in the *khandan* of the other two superior *khandan*. So the members of these two *khandan* of the *waza* status group marry among themselves or with the *waza* of other villages.

In the village of Kongos, under Zone II, all the three *khel* were present among the Rajput earlier. The prevailing structure about ten years back, stood as follows :

Eleven *khandan* of this village were distributed under the three *khel*. Of these *orang khel* had six *khandan* (bhorya, charas, damesh, rakyalu, shabist, and tangku). The *maorang khel* had four *khandan* which were bala, kashu, nagchan and tui. The only remaining *khandan*, tewaza belonged to the *waza*. But within a decade or so this situation has changed due to the inter-*khel* marriage. With this inter-*khel* marriage the drift of one *khandan* of a *khel* to another *khel* has taken place. This transformation will be discussed in due course.

Each *khel* follows *khel* endogamy. “In olden days all these three status groups were strictly endogamous. The member of one status group was not allowed to marry into other status groups. Marriage

* The Kinnaurese consider carpentry as a low profession, of course, superior to pot-making, basket-making, leather works, etc.

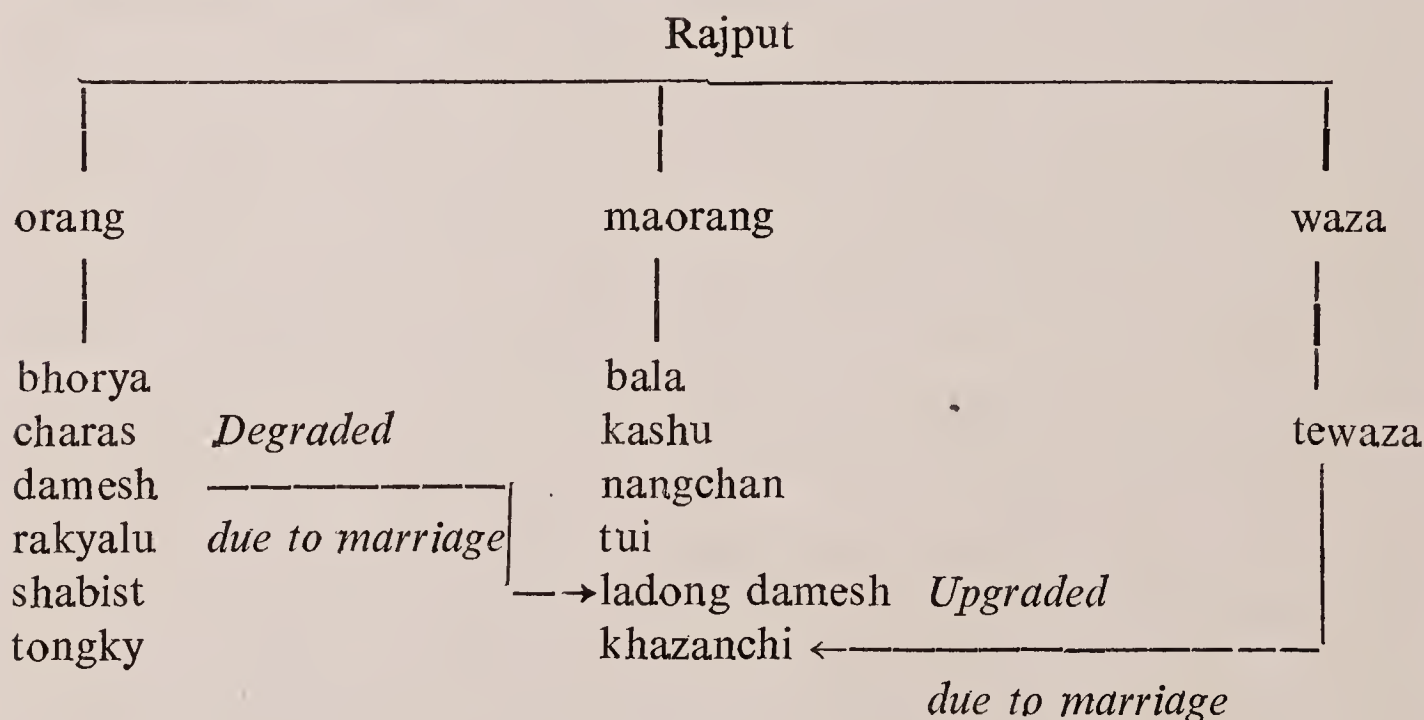


with lower status groups was considered as socially disgraceful and lowering of status" (*op. cit.*). If the member of one *khel* fails to find his mate from the same status group of his village or adjacent villages, he will try to fetch one even from a distant village. But in no way he would indulge marriage in a status group inferior to the status group he belongs. The difficulty in this regard is faced by the *waza* group because they are not very numerous in Kinnaur, As a result sometimes they need to move even to the adjoining Mahasu district (at present Simla district).

But with the march of time, rules restricting inter-*khel* marriage, has started showing slackness. "But gradually this rule regarding the former two status groups started relaxing. At present there are cases where marriages have taken place between the two intra-marrying groups" (*op. cit.*). Though this rule has started relaxing, yet the social ostracism is still prevalent. If a male member of the higher *orang khel* marries a woman of the lower *maorang khel*, then he is degraded. But the members of the *maorang* group prefer marriage of a *maorang* boy with a *orang* girl. They like it because such marriage helps them in upgrading their social position. Marriages with the *orang* women uplift the status of a *maorang* family, though such marriages degrade the status of the *orang* family. "If a *orang* household establishes a marital union with some *maorang* household (in cases of *orang* man marrying a *maorang* women), the *orang* household is degraded to the status of the *maorang*. But if a household of the latter status group can bring bride from that of the former status group for three consecutive generations, then the household of the latter status group is upgraded and it comes to the fold of the former status group" (*op. cit.*). The degraded household can be reinstated in the previous *khel* only if they can

give marriage of their girl with the boys of the higher *khel*. The relaxation in the marital rigidity in the course of time, has given the group, with lower status, an opportunity to raise its status on establishing the marital bond with the members of the higher status group. But the position remained almost the same with the *waza* group. They are still at the bottom of the hierarchy and gets very little opportunity to establish any marital tie with other two superior status groups, the *orang* and the *maorang*. Of course, during our field work we could trace a few cases of *maorang-waza* matrimonies whereby the position of the *waza-khel* has been upgraded. This, at this time, helps us in postulating that if a *waza* marries in *orang* or *maorang khel* his position will be upgraded to the next higher *khel*, i.e., *maorang*. But the *orang* or the *maorang* family, with whom he establishes marital tie, will be degraded to a position which is between the two *khels*, *maorang* and the *waza*. Actually, the Rajput society has not yet framed a very clear-cut rule for such marriages as only a very few such marriages have so far been solemnized.

A beautiful example of drift of the hierarchical position of various status groups due to inter-*khel* marriage, can be had from the village Kongos in Zone II.



Rule of endogamy is thus a very vital feature of the *khel* system among the Rajput of Kinnaur. Besides the above function, it acts as the symbol of integrity and co-operation. The members of a *khel* consider themselves as closely related. As such, mutual help and co-operation always exist among the members. Whenever a *khel* member is in need, his co-*khel* members always come forward to assist and help him. During any ceremony or religious festivity, held in the house of a *khel* member, the other members of the same *khel* come to him to assist him in various ways. Similarly, when any ceremony is held in some body's house his co-*khel* members get priority in the list of invitees.

This mutual help and assistance exist in economic and political affairs also. The members of the same *khel* assist whenever some member

of the same *khel* is in financial difficulty. When somebody does not have much manpower to plough his land, he often seeks help from his *khel* members.

During the election of Panchayat, it is often seen that the members of a *khel* render their support in Panchayat election to a candidate who happens to be the member of that particular *khel*. This they do without considering the merits and demerits of the candidate concerned.

The *khel* of the Rajput of Kinnaur do not bear any totem nor these have any symbol.

Khandan : In Kinnaur district, as stated earlier, the status groups or *khel* among the Rajput are divided into a number of lineages known as the *khandan*. These *khandan* which are consanguineous unilateral descent group, are patrilineal and exogamous in nature. They indicate a person's identity, his family of origin and his social position (Sen : 1970 : 109).

In a Kinnaur village, two types of *khandan* are usually found firstly, the original *khandan* and secondly the immigrant *khandan*. The members belonging to the former type are the original inhabitants of the village while the members of the latter type either came on migration and settled in the village later on or came to this village as wives or as son-in-law (*makpa*). For example, in Rogi village *khandan* like ares, braise, dankas, pangtu, pirumathas, potiyan, sangchain, surag, surain and turkian are considered as the original *khandan* of the village, whereas kochapang is not considered as the immigrant *khandan* of the village as it has come from Rampur area as the very word *kocha*¹ indicates that they are non-Kinnaurese. Besides these, all the other *khandan* of this village as mentioned in Table 33, are not original *khandan*. They have come to this village on marriage. The bearers of these *khandan* are all women, and they are married to the male inhabitants of this village.

Similar is the condition in other villages. At Kongos also *khandan* like bala, bhorya, charas, damehs, *kashu*, khajanchi, nagchan, rokyalu, shabist, tongku, damesh and tui are original *khandan*. But rest of the *khandan* of this village (Table 33) are treated as immigrants. The members of the immigrant *khandan* are all females. They have come to this village on marriage.

There is the functional difference between these two types of the *khandan*. The members of the original *khandan* can take direct part in the social, economic, political and religious functions of the village while those of the immigrant *khandan* cannot. The members of the former *khandan* can only become the functionaries of the temple and the *gumpha* (monastery). Most of the important posts of these religious institutions, such as *pujar*, *grokch*, *matha*, etc. are headed by the original *khandan*. Never an immigrant *khandan* can hold such an office. Similarly, in

¹ The Kinnaurese call the non-Kinnaurese as the *kocha*.

their traditional village council, *charbhai*, all the important portfolios are held by the original *khandan*.

The original *khandan* are always considered as superior in status than the immigrant *khandan*. Again among both original and immigrant *khandan* there is distinct stratification on the basis of the hierarchy. The *khandan* belonging to the higher status group or *khel* are believed to be superior to that of the lower *khel*. That is the *khandan* of *orang khel* are superior to those of both *maorang* and *waza*. Again the *khandan* of *maorang khel* are considered to be superior to these of the *Waza khel*.

Usually the members of the superior *khandan* do not like to establish any matrimonial alliance with those with the inferior status. If there is any marriage between these two types of *khandan*, in most of the cases of the superior *khandan* would bring daughters from the inferior *khandan*; rarely they give their daughter to the inferior *khandan*. Whenever any members of the inferior *khandan* marries a daughter of the superior *khandan*, he has to pay *masar* (i.e., price for the superiority) to the girl's father.

In Kinnaur these *khandan* are characterised by their location in particular geographical area. Particular *khandan* are found only in particular villages. The *khandan* of one village are usually different from those of the other villages. Of course, in some cases common *khandan* are found in different villages of the same region. This is because some members of these *khandan* must have shifted to other villages and settled there retaining their original *khandan*.

In the village, Kongos under Zone II, while the original *khandan* like bala, bhorya, charas, damesh, Kashu, khajanchi, nagchan, rokyalu, shabist, tongku and tui are found in the village of Sungra which is only 4 km from Kongos, the *khandan* like borantu, charas, chunkum, kocha, kotal, pailace, peochan, shukhya, somiyan, tangian, topuch and turus are present. So it is seen that excepting one, the *khandan* of Kongos village are not identical with those of the other villages. The only *khandan* which is common to both the villages is charas. And this is so because a charas household from Kongos got settled at Sungra long back.

Similarly, the *khandan* in different village of Zone III are also different. The original *khandan* at Rogi under this zone are ares, braise, dankas, kochaperang, bangtu, pirumathas, potiyan, sangchain, surag, surain and turkian. But these *khandan* are not found in other villages of this zone. In Kalpa village (previously Chini) which is very close to Roti, the *khandan* are certainly different. The original *khandan* of Kalpa village are suralas, charas, jad, karangru, khatian, marchinas, mathas, porpa, ralchinas, ranua, suras, yangur etc. On the other hand, the original *khandan* of Duni village which is adjacent to Kalpa and only about 7 km from Rogi are charas, khasto, kochaperang, krangalu, kusan, motan, nektu, rakong, rakpang, rangseru and surain. There is no identical *khandan* common to both the villages of Rogi and Kalpa and the only common *khandan* present in Kalpa and Duni is charas. These

charas families were originally the settlers of Kongos. Long back a few families came and settled in Kalpa and Duni villages. And the similar khandan of Rogi and Duni are kochaperang and surain. Kochaperang is common because they came from outside Kinnaur. And the surain of Duni came from Rogi.

So it is seen that each village in Kinnaur has distinct *khandan* which are usually peculiar for a particular village only. They are in general not found in other villages. When one *khandan* is found common in different villages, then it may be taken for granted that this *khandan* is original in one village but immigrant in other village.

Origin of Khandan

There are a number of legends that lead to the origin of the *khandan*. Sometimes the elderly persons, more often elderly womenfolk, tell the tales behind the origin of various *khandan*, some of these stories are narrated below.

Thongpon and Yongpon—Thongpon and Yongpon are the two *khandan* prevalent in Sangla village under Sangla tehsil of Kalpa Sub-division. The members of these *khandan* believe that their ancestors who originally came from Andhra Pradesh, settled first at Poari village in Kinnaur. From Poari they came down to Sangla when some of them settled at Upper Sangla and some in Lower Sangla. As they came from Poari they became popular to the local people as por, the abbreviated form of Poari. The word por later on transformed into its corrupt form pon (poari→por→pon). Those por families who settled at Upper Sangla came to be known as thongpon (thong=upper) while those who housed at Lower Sangla became yongpon (yong=lower)

Mongtoan

This *khandan* derived its name from its ancestor named as Magu who came from Rampur area. From his name, Magu his ancestors became mongtoan. (Magu→mongtoan).

Chetha

Similar is the case with the *khandan* chetha. The members of the chetha *khandan* got the *khandan* name chetha from their ancestor, named Chethu who also came from Rampur area (Chethu→chetha).

Repalto

Like mongtoan and chetha the members of the repalto *khandan* derived their *khandan* name from the name of their ancestor, Roy Pal who too, migrated from Rampur tehsil. From Roy Pal his progeny got the *khandan* repalto (Roy Pal→repal→repalto).

Sangchain

The members of sangchain *khandan* of Rogi village got their *khandan* name in a peculiar way. Long long back their ancestors came from lower hills to Kinnaur, the land of high altitude. As they came from warmer climate to the very cold climate of Kinnaur, they did not like to get up early in the morning because of the cold. They used to sleep late in the morning. But their Kinnaurese companions used to awake them by shaking their body. As they woke up they asked their companions, "*sang sang dua?*" meaning "Has the night passed". As they uttered this question every day, they came to be known as sangchain.

Wazir

Long back Raja Vijay Singh was the king of Bushahr State. He was very fond of rearing sheep and goat. One day while the king was looking at his sheep and goats in a field, he found a man was passing with a container in his hand. The king was very thirsty. Guessing that the man was carrying some drink, he approached the man for a drink without disclosing his identity. The man who was from Poari village, agreed that he was carrying the *su*, the juice of grape, but refused to oblige the king, with the argument that the *su* was for the king, and he was unable to give any person the same *su* he was carrying for the king.

Next day as the man attended the court in order to present the *su* to the king, he found the same man was sitting on the throne. The man was very much surprised and was also ashamed. He begged apology from the king for his ignorance to recognise the king. But the king was very pleased with the man for his loyalty. From the next day the king made him the *wazir* (administrator) of Poari. Since then the *wazir* became the *khandan* for the man and his progeny.

Shongmathus

The ancestors of this *khandan* who were made *mathus* (oracle) in order to speak to the deity on behalf of the villagers, originally came from the village Shong; and so they gained the *khandan* Shongmathus, i.e., *mathus* (oracle) from Shong.

Marpaltu

Ancestor of this *khandan* came to Kamru village to worship the deity. They brought with them *mar* (*Ghee*) and *paltu* (a kind of food) and worshipped the deity with these. Their descendants who also continued to worship with those, became marpaltu.

Garpang

The ancestors of *garpang* were the worshipper of *Astangehemating* a deity (*gar*=worshipper).

Chongpapong

The ancestors of this *khandan* were traders to Tibet (chongpa=traders to Tibet).

Ralpapong

The ancestors of this *khandan* were the store keeper for rice, and so they got this *khandan* (*ral*=rice; *pal*=keeper).

Surag

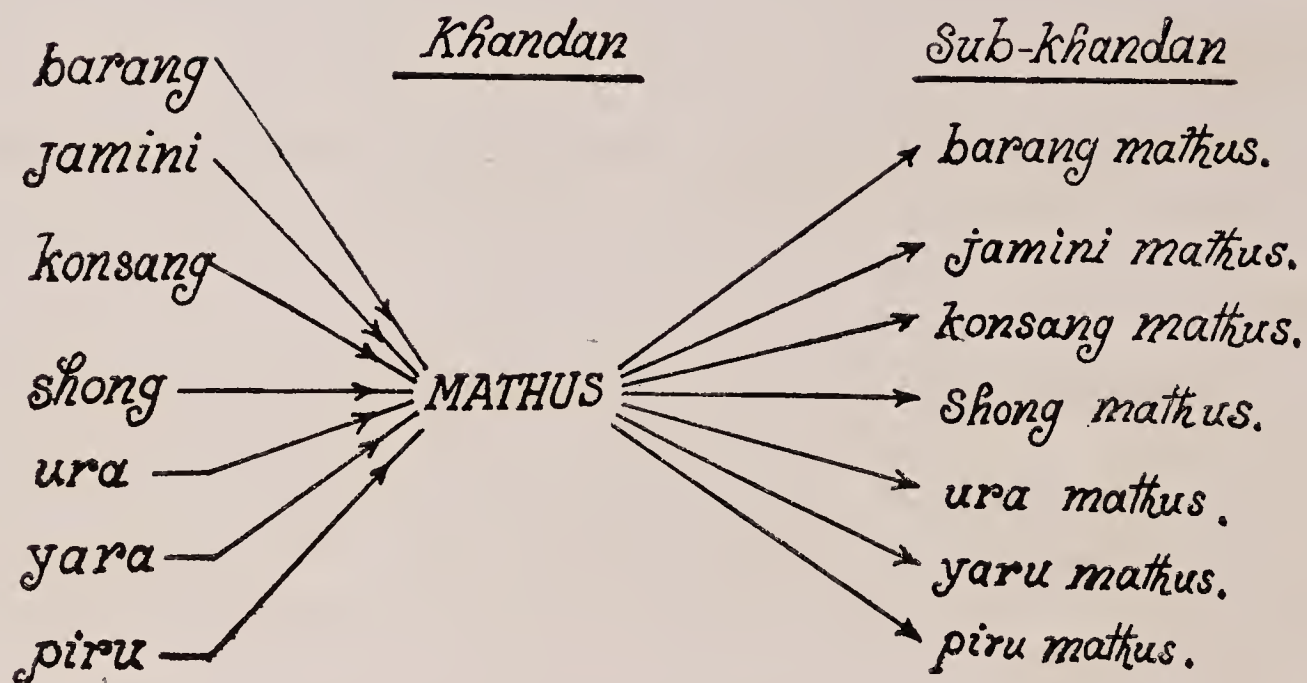
This *khandan* name has come from the word *surakh* meaning 'juice of the grapes'. The ancestors of this *khandan* used to prepare very delicious wine from the juice of the grapes. One day when the king visited the village, he was supplied with this wine. The king got so much pleased with this tasty wine that he decorated the man with the *khandan* of *surakh* or *surag*.

Thus from the above legends, it is evident that the *khandan* of the Rajput of Kinnaur have originated from varied sources. "The general belief among these people is that the members belonging to the same lineage, have a common ancestry. That means they have been originated from a common ancestor, and as such this is one of the reasons for the prohibition of marriage within the same lineage.

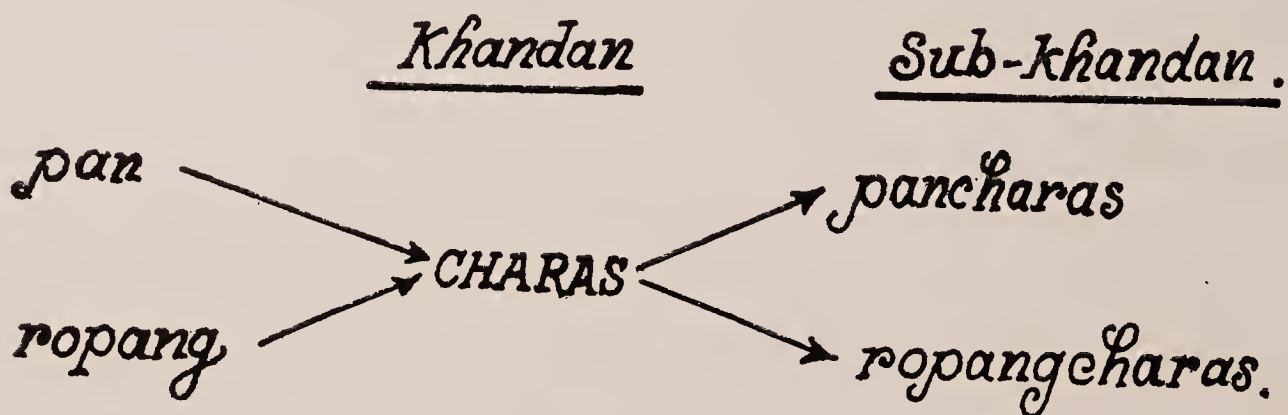
Sub-khandan

In Kinnaur there are some *khandan* which are divided into a number of sub-*khandan*. These sub-*khandan* have been formed after prefixing or suffixing some word with the name of the *khandan*. It is always difficult to ascertain the exact reason for the origin of these sub-*khandan*. But in certain cases it is due to the variation of the social or economic status among the different families of the same *khandan*. Sometimes the position of the house of the members of the same *khandan* also becomes a criterion for the formation of the new sub-*khandan*. If a member of a particular *khandan* constructs house in the upper part of the village and some other in the lower part of the village, they may form two different sub-*khandan* of the same *khandan*.

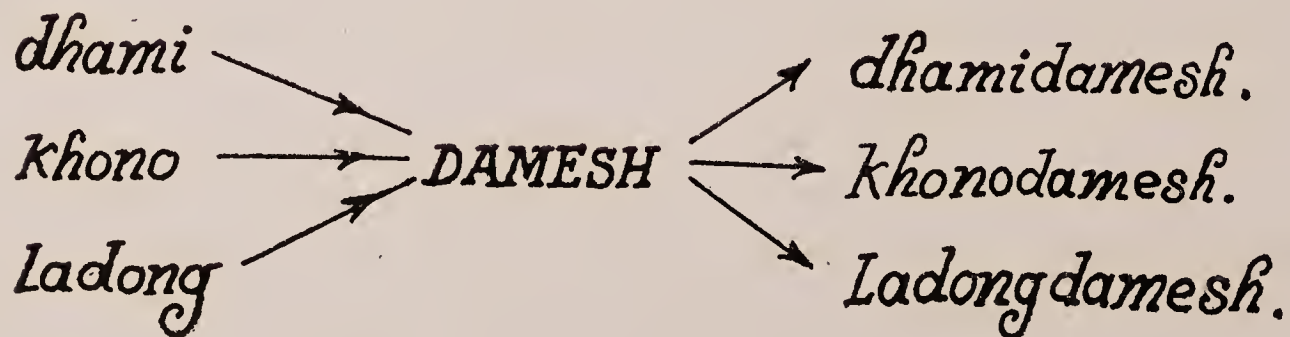
However, we see that a bond of relationship always keeps the families of an original *khandan* and its sub-*khandan* and also of different sub-*khandan* attached to one another. For example, it is believed that at one time the *khandan* was undivided and had no sub-division. Later on, for some reasons as stated earlier, the said *khandan* was divided into a number of sub-*khandan* by prefixing or suffixing some distinguishing words as follows *dhami khono*, *ladong* etc. have been used to form different sub-*khandan* like *dhamidamesh*, *khonodamesh*, *ladongdamesh* etc. and thus these words are used to denote the distinguishing features for the sub-*khandans*.



Similar is the case with charas *khandan* as noted below :



The same is true for damesh too :



Functions

The Rajput *khandan* are marriage regulating units. Besides, the *khandan* also "co-operate with all lineage members collectively in all the crises of life" (Raha : 1977). At the same time it acts to denote person's identity, his family of origin and his social position (Sen ; 1970 : 109).

The Rajput *khandan* are exogamous; so in the society, the marriage within the *khandan* of the father, is strictly forbidden. They believe that breach of this rule create great annoyance to the deity of the households and also to that of the village, *Ghori* and *Khunt*. The curse of the deity and also of the ancestors and ancestresses will spoil their married life with unhappiness, disease and even by death. Not that the couple will only suffer from the wrath of the deities and the ancestors and ancestresses, but their near relatives, even the co-villagers, will be the victims of the anger of the deities. That is why the Rajput do not tolerate this and try their best to prevent the occurrence of any such case because the members of a *khandan* always consider themselves as related by blood. Therefore as such marriage within *khandan* is believed to be very sinful and incestuous.

The marriage between the members of two sub-*khandan* of a *khandan* is, in a similar way, prohibited. A dhamidamesh cannot marry a khono-damesh. Similarly a barangmathus will abstain from marrying pirumathas.

Among the Rajput, the members of the superior *khandan* will prefer to marry in superior *khandan* and the members of inferior *khandan* in inferior *khandan*.

The other marriage rule that concerns the *khandan* is that a member of a *khandan* belonging to a superior status group or *khel* will avoid marriage with a member of a *khandan* of an inferior status group or *khel*.

The Rajput society of Kinnaur shuns marriage also in the mother's *khandan*. That means while selecting a partner for marriage both father's and mother's *khandan* are carefully avoided life partner. Mother's *khandan* also gets almost the same importance so far as marriage is concerned. But at the time of marriage a man always prefers to marry in his father's mother's *khandan*. This *khandan* is preferred over any other *khandan*.

A very important function of the *khandan* is that the members of one *khandan* form a close-knit co-operative group. During any crisis of life, a member of a *khandan* or sub-*khandan* of a *khandan* always gets co-operation, help and assistance from co-*khandan* or co-sub-*khandan* members, and similarly he renders all possible help, assistance and co-operation when one of his co-*khandan* or co-sub-*khandan* men suffers.

Descent

The descent of *khandan* among the Rajput of Kinnaur is reckoned through male line. Unmarried children always belong to their father's

khandan. After marriage the sons retain their father's *khandan* but the daughters, in general, accept their respective husband's *khandan*. The mother's *khandan* has got no importance to the life of an individual so far as the descent is concerned. Similarly, the *khandan* of the wife, father's mother or mother's mother is without any importance while the descent is considered. In case of adoption, the adopted child usually gets the *khandan* of the person who adopts.

This rule of descent is followed even when the marriage between the Rajput and some other ethnic groups takes place.

The *khandan* of the Rajput of Kinnaur is non-totemic in nature. No totemic object is attached to any of the *khandan*.

As already stated, the *khandan* system is present only among the Rajput. It is altogether absent among other ethnic groups of this district. The ethnic groups like the Koli, the Lohar, the Badhi and the Nangalu are directly divided into a number of households without being divided with any other sub-divisions in between. But 'only recently among the Koli of lower Kinnaur some rudimentary form of occupational divisions' have been formed (Raha : 1975). At least two occupational divisions are found among those living in Nachar and Kalpa sub-divisions. These are *bonu* and *sui*. Those who have weaving as main occupation have taken *bonu*. But those who have switched over to tailoring, have taken *sui*. They are unable to say the nature of the *khandan*, their origin and development. It seems that they have adopted these from their profession (*bonu*=weaving, *sui*=stitching) (*op. cit.*). There is no restriction of marriage between them nor there is any bar of marrying in the same *khandan*. So far this is in a very rudimentary stage. This system does not regulate marriage.

The *khandan* and the household

In Kinnaur villages most of the Rajput households belong to the original *khandan* only. Only in a very few cases households belonging to the immigrant *khandan* are found. Again the households are not evenly distributed among different *khandan*. Some *khandan* may have a larger number of households whereas some other may cover only one. In a village under Hangrang sub-tehsil of Pooh-sub-division (Zone I) the Rajputs have 116 household of which only 67 (57.76%) households are covered by some *khandan* or other, but rest 49 (42.24%) do not have any *khandan*. Of these 67 households which possess *khandan*, 51 (76.12%) belong to original and the rest 16 to immigrant *khandan*. Tograba out of these 28 *khandans*, covers the highest number of households (11 or 16.42%). Next to it comes Nagchan covering 7 (10.45%) households followed by Thalkang and Youngma (5.97% each). It is further seen that 9 out of 21 original *khandan* cover 37 households, that means, these 9 *khandan* cover 55.22% of the total households having *khandan*. In case of the immigrant *khandan* three viz., Khanna, Nagchan and Tokrimo hold 75.00% of the total immigrant households.

In a village in Nachar sub-division (Zone II) on the other hand, there are a total of 40 households belonging to the Rajput. These 40 households are distributed among eleven original *khandans*. Immigrant *khandans* do not possess any household. The household without any *khandan* is not existant here. In this village the *khandan* damesh and its three sub-*khandan* (dhami damesh, khono damesh and ladong damesh) cover 14 or 35.00 of the total Rajput households. And only damesh itself covers 17.50% of the total number of the households. The next higher number of households belonging to different *khandans* are nagchan, shabist and Tongku, each of which has 10.00% of the total number of households. Rest of the *khandans* do have smaller number of households each. It is further seen that even among the original *khandans* like damesh (with its three sub-*khandan*), nagchan, shabist and tongku share 65.00% of the total households.

Again a village in Central Kinnaur (Zone III) has ten original *khandan* which have households in the village. The largest number of the Rajput households (14 or 35.00%) belong to turkian *khandan*. The *khandan*, surag covers the next higher number of households (10 or 25.60%). An immigrant *khandan*, kochaperang has also got one household in its credit. That means out of the eleven *khandan* having household in the village all but one are original *khandan* of the village. Again like that in the village in lower Kinnaur, in this village too, out of the total of ten *khandan* five (petiyan, sangchain, surag, surain and turkian) share majority (82.50%) of the Rajput households. Household without any *khandan* is also non-existent here.

Further, it is interesting to note that the superiormost *khandan*, i.e., the *khandan* of the orang *khel*, occupy larger number of households in the village. In a village in Zone II 67.50% of the households are occupied by the *khandan* like bhorya, charas, damesh, nagchan, rakyalu, shabist and tongku, all of these belong to the *khel*, orang. The rest belong to the other *khel*. In the village under Zone III the overwhelming majority of the households (90.00%) are held by the members of the *khandans* like ares, pirumathus, potian, sangchain, surag, surain and turkian. All these *khandans* belong to the *khel* orang, i.e., the superiormost *khel*. But as the *khel* system is non-existent in most of the Zone I villages, no such type of frequency can be available.

It is thus clear that three interesting points emerge out of the analysis of the *khandan*-wise distribution of the households. Firstly, the original *khandan* hold majority of the households of the village. Households belonging to the immigrant *khandan*, are either absent or only a few in number except in Zone I village where 23.88% households are occupied by the immigrants. Secondly, even if a number of the *khandan* is present in the village, majority of households are occupied by only a few important *khandans*. Finally, the *khandans* of the superiormost *khel* orang, occupy majority of the households of the village which is true for Zone II and III as most of the Zone I villages do not have *khel* system.

TABLE 28. Khandan distribution of Rajput households

Zone I Khandan	No.	%	Zone II Khandan	No.	%	Zone III Khandan	No.	%
Chhokpa	3	4.48	Bala	3	7.50	Ares	2	5.00
Chongtut	1	1.49	Bharya	1	2.50	Braise	1	2.50
*Dengbachche	1	1.49	Charas	2	5.00	Dankas	1	2.50
Dengringjingutpa	1	1.49	Damesh	7	17.50	*Kochaperang	1	2.50
Farmoba	3	4.48	Dhami Damesh	1	2.50	Pangtu	1	2.50
Gamphu	1	1.49	Khono Damesh	3	7.50	Pirumathus	1	2.50
Gungwa	1	1.49	Ladong Damesh	3	7.50	Potiyan	3	7.50
*Gyak	1	1.49	Kashu	1	2.50	Sangchain	3	7.50
Karfi	2	2.99	Khajanchi	3	7.50	Surag	10	25.00
Kargutungpa	3	4.48	Nagchan	4	10.00	Surain	3	7.50
*Khanna	3	4.48	Rokyalu	2	5.00	Turkian	14	35.00
Kongma	3	4.48	Shabist	4	10.00			
Loctus	3	4.48	Tongku	4	10.00			
*Nagchan	7	10.45	Tui	2	5.00			
Naidu	1	1.49						
Nimapushi	2	2.99						
Soshuma	1	1.49						
Surkhang	3	4.48						
*Talang	1	1.49						
*Tatpa	1	1.49						
Thalkang	4	5.97						
Thalsara	1	1.49						
Thongpan	1	1.49						
Toglag	1	1.49						
Tograba	11	16.42						
*Tokrimo	2	2.99						
Youngma	4	5.97						
Yolpong	1	1.49						
Total	67	100.00		40	100.00		14	100.00

* Immigrant khandan

In Kinnaur the family (*kim*) is the growing point for the *khandan*. It is always patrilocal and simultaneously monogamous and nuclear, polygynous, polyandrous and polygynandrous too. While in unclear monogamous families children are not differentiated from one another as they are born of the same parents. But in case of the polygynous families which are only a few in number, the children of the same father are differentiated from one another as they belong to different mothers whose status in the family always vary. But very interesting feature can be noticed in case of the polyandrous and polygynandrous families. Polyandry being the cultural profile of the Kinnaura, a good number of polyandrous and polygynandrous families are found here. In case of polyandrous families, children of same mother but different fathers (who are brothers) are not differentiated as the eldest of the husbands (also eldest brother) is treated as the 'father' of all the children. Here children differentiate their fathers. Whoever may be the biological father, but children (of different brother-husbands) socially recognize the eldest husband (naturally the eldest brother) of their mother as their father. Other brothers who may be termed as 'father' but are not treated equally as the father. The condition is almost same in case of the polygynandrous families. Here, though eldest brother-husband is treated as the 'social father' (may not be biological) by all children of all mothers (here all the wives are wives of all the brother-husbands), but children differentiated between wives of their fathers. They recognize their respective biological mother who gave them birth as their 'own' mother. That means we get four different sets of combinations.

1. Children of the same father and mother
2. Children of same father but different mothers
3. Children of same mother but different fathers recognising one as 'father'
4. Children of different mothers and different fathers recognising one as 'father'

These provide some scope for further criterion of differentiation within the *khandan* system. It is true that 'fathers' are always brothers and they have common *khandan*, and they keep no chance of differentiating the *khandan* (polyandry here being fraternal). But while the question of marriage of the sons of different mothers (polygyny and polygynandry) comes, differentiation becomes obvious in selecting the bride as marriage in mother's *khandan* is not permitted.

The *khandan* population

In the villages where *khandan* system exists, the original and superior *khandan* share the major bulk of the population. Moreover, the immigrant *khandan* are mostly peopled by the female folk whom the members of the original *khandan* have brought on marriage.

In a village in lower Kinnaur (Zone II) out of a total of 196 inhabitants

85.20% belong to the original *khandans* and the rest (14.80%) belong to the immigrant group. While the members of the original *khandans* have 59.88% males and 40.12% females, the members of the immigrant *khandans* are all females. Similar is the case in a village in middle Kinnaur (Zone III) where out of 310 villagers 83.87% belong to the original and the rest 16.13% to the immigrant *khandans*. Here also the original *khandans* have both male (58.46%) and female (41.54%) members, but the members of the immigrant *khandans* are all females except one. And this is true for almost all the villages in the lower and middle Kinnaur (Zone II & III) having the *khandan* system. This gives us the idea that in the lower and middle Kinnaur villages the *khandan* system is mostly peopled by the original *khandans*. Almost all the immigrant *khandans* have one member each, and she is a female and has come to the village on marriage.

In upper Kinnaur (Zone I) village, on the other hand, the situation is somewhat different. Here out of 585 inhabitants 246 (42.05%) have original *khandans* and only 65 (11.11%) bear immigrant *khandans*, i.e., villagers with *khandan* form 53.16%. But quite a substantial number of inhabitants (274 or 46.84%) have no *khandan* at all. Again the males and the females cover 58.13% and 41.87% respectively of the total original *khandan* population. In case of immigrant *khandan* population the males are comparatively smaller in number (28 or 44.77%) but the females share the majority (37 or 55.23%) of the people. This has caused a significant difference from the position of the villages in Zone II and Zone III where the fair sex forms almost the whole of the immigrant *khandan* population.

Again in a village under Zone II the *khandans* belonging to the orang or the superiormost *khel* (bhorya, charas, damesh, rakyalu, shabist and tongku) cover the majority (68.26%) of the population of all the original *khandans* (167) of the village. The rest of the population of the original *khandans* (31.74%) are shared by the *khandans* of the maorang *khel*. Identically in the village under Zone III the overwhelming majority (93.85%) of the population of the original *khandans* (260) belongs to the orang *khel*. The rest of the population (6.15%) are eaten up by the *khandans* of the maorang *khel*. Both these villages do not have waza population.

The condition of *khandan* system in Zone I villages is again much different from that of Zone II and Zone III villages. Here in a Zone I village the lack of status group or *khel* system (the *khel* system is either absent or very rudimentary in major part of Zone I) the *khandans* cannot be differentiated from one another on the basis of any hierarchical order. All *khandan* belonging to the original group, have almost equal status.

It is further seen that though most of the immigrant *khandans* have one member, a female, each, the original *khandans* on the contrary, have multiple population of both sexes each. But definitely the numerical strength of population of the *khandans* is not equal but in variable number. In a village in Zone II damesh with its three sub-*khandans* covers 31.12%

TABLE 29. Distribution of original and immigrant khandans

ZONE II K O N G O S						ZONE III R O G I				
S. No.	KHANDAN	Male	Female	Total	%	KHANDAN	Male	Female	Total	%
1.	Bala	5	4	9	4.59	Aires	7	7	14	4.52
2.	Bhorya	7	5	12	6.12	Braise	3	4	7	2.26
3.	Charas	4	2	6	3.06	Dankas	3	5	8	2.58
4.	Damesh	15	18	33	16.84	Kocha Parang	3	4	7	2.26
5.	Dhami Damesh	2	3	5	2.55	Pagtu	1	—	1	0.32
6.	Kho Damesh	9	2	11	5.61	Pirumathas	12	1	13	4.19
7.	Ladong Damesh	7	5	12	6.12	Potiyan	11	11	22	7.10
8.	Kashu	4	3	7	3.57	Sangchain	15	15	30	9.68
9.	Khajanchi	8	6	14	7.14	Surian	9	12	21	6.77
10.	Nagcham	8	4	12	6.12	Surag	43	28	71	22.90
11.	Rokyalu	3	1	4	2.04	Turkiyan	48	25	73	23.55
12.	Shabist	12	3	15	7.65	Barang Mathus	—	1	1	0.32
13.	Tongku	11	5	16	8.16	Charas	—	3	3	0.97
14.	Tui	5	6	11	5.61	Damesh	—	4	4	1.29
15.	Barang	—	1	1	0.51	Datiya	—	1	1	0.32
16.	Barchan	—	1	1	0.51	Gammar	—	2	2	0.65
17.	Borsan	—	1	1	0.51	Grokot Parang	—	1	1	0.32
18.	Dilosha	—	1	1	0.51	Ghar	—	1	1	0.32
19.	Faga	—	1	1	0.51	Jatpang	—	1	1	0.32
20.	Hinchoru	—	1	1	0.51	Jamimathus	—	1	1	0.32
21.	Indeja	—	1	1	0.51	Kangsar	—	1	1	0.32
22.	Jangaya	—	1	1	0.51	Kambhi	—	1	1	0.32

TABLE 29. Distribution of original and immigrant khandans (Contd.)

S.No.	KHANDAN	ZONE II K O N G S			%	ZONE III R O G I			%
		Male	Female	Total		KHANDAN	Male	Female	Total
23.	Jenga	—	1	1	0.51	Kotesh	—	1	1
24.	Kalya	—	1	1	0.51	Khosha Songi	—	1	1
25.	Kocha	—	2	2	1.02	Khura Lama	—	1	1
26.	Mayan	—	1	1	0.51	Konsong Mathus	—	1	1
27.	Muta	—	1	1	0.51	Lama Paran	—	1	1
28.	Olga	—	1	1	0.51	Lakhan	—	1	1
29.	Pojar	—	1	1	0.51	Mailash	—	3	3
30.	Rakhwan	—	1	1	0.51	Mathus	—	2	2
31.	Pelmik	—	1	1	0.51	Prola Parang	—	3	3
32.	Rigme	—	1	1	0.51	Pancharas	—	1	1
33.	Sang Dibak Chang	—	1	1	0.51	Pranesh	—	2	2
34.	Tupuch	—	1	1	0.51	Rapang Charas	—	1	1
35.	Urchaiya	—	2	2	1.02	Runga	—	1	1
36.	Wangchama	—	1	1	0.51	Shual	—	1	1
37.	Yulam	—	1	1	0.51	Thakur	—	1	1
38.	Not Known	—	4	4	2.04	Tharanjag	—	1	1
39.						Uramathus	—	1	1
40.						Yambur	—	1	1
41.						Yaru Mathus	—	1	1
42.						Not Known	1	—	1
Total		100	96	196	99.97	Total	156	154	310
									99.88

of the total Rajput population of the village. Next comes tongku with 8.16% of the Rajput population which is followed by shabist (7.65%), khajanchi (7.14%) and nagchan (6.12%). Other *khandans* have still smaller population. Identically in a village under Zone III the *khandan*, turkiyan bears the highest population (23.55%) followed by surag (22.90%). The next higher population strength is shared by sangchain (9.68%) followed by potiyan (7.10%) and surain (6.77%). Rest of the original *khandans* cover less than 5.00% of the total Rajput population of the village each. In a village in Zone I no *khandan* has got a very high frequency of population. Of the total population having *khandan*, tograba has the highest number of people (38 or 12.22%). Next to tograba, nagchan, an immigrant *khandan* bears the next higher frequency (7.40%). It is followed by youngma (6.11%), thalkang (5.79%), lectus (5.47%), surkhang (5.14%) and chhokpa (4.82%). All these are original *khandans*.

The immigrant *khandan* who have come either by marriage or by migration, have lesser population. Of these immigrant *khandan* (not marked by asterik) which are 23 in number, only two *khandan* have two female members each (1.02%) and these two members have come to the village through marriage.

At Kongos all the immigrant *khandan* have only one individual (female) in each forming 0.51% of the total Rajput population of the village. Two *khandan*, kocha and urchaiya each has two women who came through marriage (1.02%).

At Rogi, there are 42 *khandan* of which 10 are original while the majority (32) are immigrant *khandan*. All the original *khandan* as usual, have much higher population than the other type. Of the original *khandan*, turkiyan has the highest population (23.55%). Next comes surag which shares 22.90% of the total Rajput population. Other important *khandan* are sangchain, potiyan and surain who cover 9.68%, 7.10% and 6.77% respectively of the total Rajput population.

So far as the immigrant *khandan* are concerned all but one encompass female members only. Most of these *khandan* have only one female member. But in certain *khandan* more than one member is met with. While *khandan*, damesh has 4 female members, charas, mailash and prolaparang have three female members each. *Khandan* having two female members in each are gammar, mathus and pranesh.

The only immigrant *khandan* which has one male member is pangtu. This pangtu man came from Pangi village (about 20 km from Rogi) as *makpa* (son-in-law) and thereafter settled in this village.

Marriage

As defined in the *Notes and Quarries on Anthropology* 'marriage is a union between man and woman such that children born to the woman are recognised as legitimate offspring of both the partners'. But under

the 'Law Relating to Social Reforms, Bushahr, 1989 Sambat', marriage as prevalent in Kinnaur has been defined as the "relationship between a man and woman which is recognised by the law of the land in force or custom of the land".

Two popular types of marriages are prevalent in Kinnaur, firstly, the regular marriage or marriage by negotiation known as *zanekang*, *zandung* or *zanchang* and secondly, the marriage by elopement called *dub-dub* or *kunchis*. But the above law of the land recognises two types of marriages. One is *badani* type and the other *barni* type. *Badani* is that type of marriage in which the bridegroom goes to the house of the bride and brings her to his home where the customary ceremony is held. This is similar to *zanekang* in which type also the bride is brought in the house of the bridegroom where the wedding ceremony takes place.

The other type, i.e., *barni* is that agreement of marriage by which girl is selected for marriage with a boy.

Besides the customary and legal marriages, another type of marriage is held when there is a regular sex relation between a man and a woman which is recognised by the society.

For marriage there are prescribed qualified persons with whom only the marriage is considered as legal. In case of the customary or legal marriages, the marriage rules must be observed. The marriage must take place within the ethnic group and status group but outside the *khandan*. Besides there are several other rules. The marriage will be considered illegal under the following conditions :

- (a) If one marries in one's own *khandan*.
 - (b) If one marries a kin prohibited under customs, such kins are:
 1. real mother's sister or her daughter
 2. real father's sister or her daughter
 3. real brother's daughter or her daughter
 4. real mother's brother's daughter
 5. real wife's sister's daughter
 6. real father's brother's wife's real sister
 7. wife's real brother's wife
 8. wife's real or step mother
 9. wife's father's real brother's wife
 - (c) If one marries in different caste or ethnic group, in case it is not according to the prevailing custom.
 - (i) If a Rajput marries a Koli girl (hypergamy) then the marriage will not be legal, because it is not allowed by custom.
 - (ii) If a Muslim marries a Koli, the marriage is considered to be illegal.
 - (iii) If a Badhi marries a Lohar girl then this marriage will not be illegal because custom permits such a marriage.
- The following types of union are also not accepted by the society :
- (d) If one marries by fraud.

(e) If one marries by force resulting in the suffering or grief of one of the partners.

(f) If one marries in a manner which is not approved by the State Laws or customary laws.

(g) If one marries a non-Kinnaura, such marriage is legalised if *radari*, (that means, permission granted by the State to a person from outside Kinnaur to take away a woman from inside Kinnaur) has been taken. Previously, such permission was granted but since the proclamation of Social Reforms Laws of Sambat 1989, such permission has totally been stopped. If such marriage takes place without *radari* both the parties are liable for punishment under the law.

(h) If a Rajput marries a member outside *kaum* (marriageable community). The following groups are outside *kaum* : Christian, Muslim, Kumhar, Kalal, Nath, Nai, Barhai, Lohar, Tori, Koli, Daryai, Chamar, Rahed, Bhangi, Dhobi, Jonner, Gujjar, Bhil (Bhalley) and Jao.

Barni

As already stated, in *barni* type of marriage, an agreement is made between the two parties involved. This agreement remains as an effective document throughout their life. But *barni* agreement does not come under the purview of law, *i.e.*, if somebody breaks the agreement then marriage cannot be enforced through court. The agrieved party can ask for the damage only. During this type of marriage the consent of the parents or guardian of both the bride and the bride groom is essential. If the parents are alive, then their consent is taken. But if they are not alive, in that case, the consent of one relative or the other is taken in the following order of priority :

- (i) grand parents from father's side
- (ii) grand parents from mother's side
- (iii) the real major brother*
- (iv) the head of the *Khandan*
- (v) otherwise the father's mother's consent is taken

Marital status

Table 30 projects that of the total Kinnaurese 49.89% are never married and 44.59% are married. In case of men of course, the difference is quite apparent. It also shows that the difference between the never married and married among the women is much more than that between the never married and married persons. Further, it shows that the frequency of never married women is also more than that of the men. Reversely, the frequency of the married women is much less than that

* If the boy and the girl become major then the *barni* can take place.

TABLE 30. Marital conditions of the Kinnaurese, Census 1971

Marital Status	Person		Male		Female	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Never married	24,865	49.89	12,905	48.86	11,960	51.06
Married	22,223	44.59	12,879	48.77	9,344	39.88
Widow	2,352	4.72	519	1.97	1,833	7.82
Divorced/Separated	395	0.80	105	0.39	290	1.24
Unspecified	—	—				
Total	49,835	100.00	26,407	100.00	23,427	100.00

of the married men. These peculiarities are possibly because of the existence of polyandry and *zomo* (nun) system. Both these compel many women to remain spinsters throughout their life. While we look at the marital condition of the Kinnaurese in different sub-divisions of Kinnaur district, according to 1961 census (1971 census figures not available), we get almost identical picture. The frequency of widowed, divorced or separated persons is remarkably low. The sexwise distribution of the marital condition reflects that (Table 31) the frequency of the unmarried women is much more than the married women in all its three sub-divisions of Kinnaur district. The condition is reverse in the case of men in whose case the married ones are more in number than the unmarried ones. The condition is like this possibly because of the prevalence of the custom of becoming *zomo* (nun) by a good number of the female folk who remain unmarried throughout their life. Of course, it is true that the men also become monks or *lama*, but their number is low and sometimes the monks lead married life. This is true of the district and two of its sub-divisions, Pooh and Kalpa. But at Nachar sub-division the number of unmarried males is more than that of the unmarried females.

This may be due to the customs of polyandry and *zomoship*. Due to polyandry many of the women remain unmarried for a long time sometimes even throughout their life time. But for the said custom even the minor boys are declared as married. So automatically the number of married men and unmarried women would be more. Further, for the *zomoship* as Buddhism is prevalent in these two sub-divisions, many Kinnaurese women become nuns and lead the ascetic life. They remain unmarried throughout their life.

But in Nachar sub-division, Buddhism is absent and so question of becoming *zomo* does not arise.

So far as the widowhood and divorce or separation are concerned, the men are everywhere overshadowed by the women. It may be said that a widowed, divorced or separated man may remarry but it is not always possible for the women to remarry in such conditions, particularly after attaining menopause.

While we judge the marital condition of the Scheduled Tribe and the major Scheduled Castes², (Table 32) we see that among the Kinnar (Rajput) the condition is the same as stated earlier but in case of the Koli, the Lohar and the Badhi it is somewhat different. Among the Kinnara and the Koli the frequency of the unmarried men and women is more than that of the married men and women. But when we examine their sexwise distribution, we see that the number of unmarried women is more than that of unmarried men. But the condition is the opposite in case of the married men and the women.

² We have selected those Scheduled Castes which are present in the villages we have studied, moreover, those are the major Scheduled Castes of the district.

TABLE 31. Marital status of the Kinnaurese according to 1961 census

Marital Status	Kinnaur district		Pooh Sub-division (Zone I)		Nachar Sub-division (Zone II)		Kalpa Sub-division (Zone III)	
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
Unmarried	9,516	10,031	2,851	3,486	2,765	2,536	3,900	4,009
Married	10,509	7,500	3,375	2,305	3,385	2,418	3,740	2,777
Widowed	541	1,976	200	672	155	582	186	722
Divorced/Separated	223	651	53	301	109	162	61	188
Unspecified	19	14	4	1	3	5	12	8
Total	20,808	20,172	6,483	6,765	6,417	5,703	7,908	7,704

TABLE 32. Marital status of scheduled tribe and certain scheduled castes according to 1961 census

Marital Status	Scheduled Tribe		Scheduled Castes					
	Kinnara		Koli		Lohar		Badhi or Nangalu or Aures	
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
Unmarried	5,846	7,146	1,968	2,070	324	218	195	189
Married	5,321	4,893	2,143	1,841	332	251	236	184
Widowed	375	1,446	72	425	12	43	11	42
Divorced/Separated	123	471	49	82	16	16	8	7
Unspecified	2	5	2	3	—	—	—	—
Total	11,667	13,961	4,234	4,421	678	528	450	422

In case of the Koli though the number of unmarried women is more than that of the married women, in case of men it is the opposite. Again while the frequency of the unmarried women is more than that of the unmarried men, it is the reverse in case of the married men and women.

In case of the Lohar, both unmarried and married men outnumber the unmarried and married women respectively and the number of married men and women is more than that of unmarried men and women respectively.

Among the Badhi, both unmarried and married men are more in number than the unmarried and married women respectively. Again, while the number of married men is more than that of unmarried men, in case of women, the unmarried overshadow the married ones.

If the marital status of the people of the three villages is examined, it speaks (Table 33) some interesting features. While in Zone I and II the strength of married persons is more than that of the unmarried ones, at Rogi the condition is different. Here the number of married persons is less than that of the unmarried ones. Further, while the frequency of the unmarried persons in both Chango and Kongos is almost equal, at Rogi the same is higher than that of the former two villages. The strength of the married persons on the other hand, is the highest at Kongos and the lowest at Rogi. So far as the widowed and the divorced or deserted persons are concerned, it is seen from Table 33 that the highest number of widowed persons is at Rogi village and the lowest is at Kongos. The frequency for the same at Chanog is slightly lower than that at Rogi. But divorced/deserted persons are more in number at Chanog than that in other two villages, the strength of the divorced/deserted persons at Rogi being close to that at Chango.

Another interesting point which is reflected from Table 33 is that in all the three villages the number of married men is much more than that of the married women.

As we come to the ethnic groupwise distribution of the marital status of the inhabitants of the three villages, it is seen that at Chango, persons with unmarried status in all the ethnic groups are less in number than the persons with married status. This picture is true for Kongos also except in the case of the Rajput of this village in whose case the frequency of both married and unmarried persons is equal. But at Rogi the condition is absolutely different. Here the number of unmarried persons of all the ethnic groups is certainly higher than that of the persons with married status. So, we see a very peculiar marital condition among the Rajput. While among these people of Chango the frequency of the unmarried persons is less than that with married status, at Rogi the condition is reversed but at Kongos it is equal.

Among the Koli of both Chango and Kongos the number of married persons is more than that of the unmarried ones but the opposite is the condition among these people at Rogi.

In case of the other ethnic groups living in Chango and Kongos,

TABLE 33. Marital status in the villages of Kinnaur

CHANGO																	
	UNMARRIED			MARRIED			WIDOWED			DIVORCED/DESERTED							
	Population	Male	Female	Total	%	Male	Female	Total	%	Male	Female	Total	%				
Rajput	585	108	146	254	43.42	165	111	276	47.18	8	29	37	6.32	9	9	18	3.08
Koli	46	9	13	22	47.83	13	10	23	50.00	1	—	1	2.17	—	—	—	—
OEG	27	4	8	12	44.44	7	6	13	48.15	—	2	2	7.41	—	—	—	—
Total	658	121	167	288	43.77	185	127	312	47.42	9	31	40	6.08	9	9	18	2.73
KONGOS																	
Rajput	196	45	48	93	47.45	53	40	93	47.46	1	8	9	4.59	1	—	1	0.51
Koli	194	32	47	79	40.72	61	41	102	52.58	4	7	11	5.62	—	2	2	1.03
OEG	13	2	3	5	38.46	4	4	8	61.54	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Total	403	79	98	177	43.92	118	85	203	50.37	5	15	20	4.96	1	2	3	0.74

TABLE 33. Marital status in the villages of Kinnaur (*Contd.*)

ROGI																	
	UNMARRIED				MARRIED				WIDOWED				DIVORCED/DESERTED				
	Population		Male	Female	Total	%	Male	Female	Total	%	Male	Female	Total	%			
Rajput	310	66	79	145	46.77	88	53	141	45.81	1	14	15	4.84	1	7	8	2.58
Koli	127	32	28	60	47.28	29	24	53	41.73	—	13	13	10.24	1	—	1	0.79
OEG	10	4	2	6	60.00	2	2	4	40.00	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Total	447	102	110	212	47.43	119	79	198	44.30	1	27	28	6.26	2	7	9	2.01

the number with married status is more in number than that with unmarried status. The condition is quite different at Rogi. Here members with unmarried status is much more than that with married status.

Another peculiar thing to be noticed here is that among the Rajput of all the three villages the number of unmarried men is more than that of the married women. On the contrary, the number of unmarried women everywhere is more than that of unmarried men. This is true for the Koli also. This is possibly due to the presence of polyandry in this region. Polyandry definitely increases the number of unmarried women in a society. But the picture is different in case of the other ethnic groups. Though the number of married men of this group at Rogi is slightly more than that of the married women, in other two villages the frequency of both the married men and women is equal.

Endogamy

The various ethnic groups in Kinnaur are, in general, endogamous. The main two ethnic divisions of the Kinnaurese, the Khosia, and the Beru are too, endogamous. Again the three sub-divisions of the Beru, the Domang, the Chamang and the Chanala and also the ethnic groups included in these three sub-divisions, viz., the Lohar and the Badhi (Domang), the Koli (Chamang) and the Nangalu (Chanala) do not marry outside the group. In Kinnaur while no case of marriage between the Lohar and the Badhi is traceable, the Simla District Gazetteer of 1904 mentions the existence of inter-marriage between these two artisan groups (1908 : 33). But no intermarriage between these groups and the Rajput or the Koli is heard of. But Gazetteer of Bushahir, 1910 in this regards states, "In upper hills it is common for Brahmins, Rajputs, Banias and other trading classes to marry Kanet girls. Such marriages are in a sense regular, but the children of the union are considered inferior caste to their father and are designated as *sarteras*" (1911 : 12). The Rajput, the Koli, the Lohar, the Badhi and the Nangalu, all of them like to marry within their respective group. A Rajput will always marry a Rajput, a Koli a Koli. Only a few cases are found where marriage outside their own group has been solemnised. During our field work in different villages we came across only a few cases of such marriages. At Chango in Zone I, we got two cases, in one Nepali man (Gorkha) married a Koli girl while in the other a Nepali (Gorkha) married Rajput girl.

Two more cases of marriage with the Nepali (Gorkha) who went there as labourers and married with the local people (Rajput) were met with during the course of our study.

Among the Rajput, the Koli, the Lohar, the Badhi and the Nangalu, marriage outside the group is rare. If a man or a woman of higher caste marries in some lower caste, he or she will have no place in his or her own society but will go down to the level of the caste in which he or she has married. For example, if a Rajput boy or girl marries a Koli girl or

boy, he or she will be degraded to the rank of Koli. During the period of our field work we met two such cases. Both these two incidents took place in Namgia village (Zone I). In the first a Koli boy married a Rajput girl from Pooh village. The second case deals with the marriage of a Rajput boy with a Koli girl.

It is seen that the breach of the rule of the group endogamy is mainly due to the coming of the immigrant in this district. Particularly before the construction of roads, when the district was situated in semi-isolation, the frequency of the breach of this rule was extremely low. At that time only a few outsiders used to visit the Himalayan district, and a very few of them used to stay there for a prolonged period. But later on, after 1960, when the government started building roads and undertook other constructional works and also started implementing a large number of developmental schemes, waves of outsiders poured in this border district. Particularly for the construction of roads, a good number of labourers had to be brought from outside. Many of these outsiders had to live there for a prolonged period. During their stay there they depended partially on the villagers for food, fuel and many other things. As a result of these contacts, intimacy developed between some village belles and some of these labourers which ultimately led to matrimony.

Not only the ethnic groups are endogamous but certain sub-divisions of it, also follow this marriage rule. It is particularly found among the Rajputs, the three status groups (*khel*) of which, viz., the *orang*, the *maorang* and the *waza*, are also endogamous. Gerard, who mentions only two divisions of the kanet, high kanet and the waza, says that these two marry among their own caste only (1841 : 9). Raha while describing the marriage rules present among the Rajput and its three status groups, opines, "In olden days all these three status groups were strictly endogamous. The member of one status group was not allowed to marry into other status groups. Marriage with lower status group was considered as socially disgraceful and lowering of the status". (Raha : 1975). But in course of time this rule present between the former two status groups, (*orang* and *maorang* or *orang mech*) started relaxing. At present there are cases where marriages have taken place between the two intra-marrying groups. The violation of this rule is met with at Duni where at least two cases are found where *maorang* men have married *orang* women. Similarly, at Kongos and some other villages also breach of this rule between the status groups of the Rajput (*khel*) is marked.

Exogamy

While endogamy is practised in ethnic group and status group (*khel*) level exogamy is practised in *khandan* level and also to some extent in village level. As *khandan* system is present only among the Rajput, so the custom of exogamy is prevalent only among them. A Rajput cannot marry in his own *khandan*, i.e., in his father's *khandan*. Marriage in his

own *khandan* is considered as incestuous, and a sinful act because the members of the same *khandan* consider themselves as brothers and sisters. Similarly, marriage with sub-*khandan* is also prohibited. One should marry outside one's *khandan* and sub-*khandan*. The breach of this rule leads to ex-communication and fine. The Gazetteer of Bushahr State, 1910 also mentions that the practice of marriage in the same *got* was forbidden (1911 : 12). During our fieldwork we have not come across any case of marriage in the same *khandan*.

Though the Kinnaurese do not have much idea of *sapinda* exogamy³ but they prohibit marriage in father's side for seven generations and mother's side for three generations.

The practice of village exogamy in Kinnaur is practised to a great extent in some areas, it has been ignored in most of the cases in other areas.

Table 34 clearly gives an idea that at Chango of Zone I, the village exogamy has been ignored in the number of cases (46.94 %) that means, in such cases, husband and wife are from the same village, though in majority of the cases (53.06 %) of course, the village exogamy has been observed. In this village while the Rajput ignored village exogamy in majority of the cases (52.31 %), both the Koli and the other ethnic groups have abided by the same in 90.91 % and 100.00 % cases respectively.

But somewhat different picture is seen in Kongos under Zone II, at least, among the Rajput of this village. The villagers have married in the same village in a small number of cases (25.27 %) but married outside their village in most of the cases (74.73 %). Among the Rajput of this village, (unlike the Rajput of Chango) village exogamy has been followed in most of the cases (68.08 %). The Koli and the other ethnic groups of course, like their brethren in Chango, accepted village exogamy in 80.00 % and 100.00 % cases respectively.

The frequency of intra-village marriage among the Rajput of Chango village is more because of the lack of proper communication with the neighbouring villages and the prevalence of the peculiar custom of sacrifice of animals by the bridal party while crossing the water sources like the river, spring, stream, *chasma*, *kul* etc. But at Kongos as the neighbouring villages are quite nearby and the communication system is better the frequency of intra-village marriage is naturally low.

Monogamy and polygamy

Though polyandry is practised as a norm as noted earlier, monogamy

³ *Sapinda* exogamy is the custom which prohibits marriage with a woman who is *Sapinda* (literary connected by having in common particles of one body) (Mayne—1953 : 147) "This excludes marriage between ego and his (or her) own agnates (*i.e.*, father's) of six ascending generations, and his (or her) mother's agnates of four ascending generations". (Madan, 1965 : 105; Kapadia : 1947, Chap. II & VIII, and Karandikar : 1929, Chap. IX and X)

TABLE 34. Frequency of the village exogamy practised

Ethnic Groups	CHANGO			KONGOS			ROGI			ALL VILLAGES		
	Village practised	Exogamy ignored		Village practised	Exogamy ignored		Village practised	Exogamy ignored		Village practised	Exogamy ignored	
Kanets	62	47.69	68	52.31	32	68.08	15	31.92				
Koli	10	90.91	1	9.09	32	80.00	8	20.00				
O.E.G.	6	100.00	—	—	4	100.00	—	—				
All Ethnic Groups	78	53.06	69	46.94	68	74.73	23	25.27				

is no less common among them. Monogamy is practised by those who are the only son in the household, those who have left Kinnaur and settled outside Kinnaur, by those who are sufficiently educated and urbanised and by these who have deliberately ignored the age-old custom of polyandry. They explain this individualistic attitude as a sign of condemnation of the 'obscene' custom of polyandry. Now-a-days a tendency has developed among the younger generation to condemn the custom and to campaign for monogamy.

Polygyny is not popular among the Kinnaurese. Only a few cases are found where a Kinnauree has married more than one woman. Though it is widely accepted that 'polygyny is not most people's means' (Ali : 1935 : 229), in Kinnaur. Polygyny has not made any distinction between the poor and the rich. It is found in all the three ethnic categories, the Rajput, the Koli and the other ethnic groups. Of the six cases of polygyny in the three villages studied by us, only one case is present in Chango and the rest five cases are in Rogi. Kongos does not have any case of polygyny. At Chango the only case of polygyny is found in the category other ethnic groups. In this case a Nepali married two Rajput sisters. At Rogi, on the other hand, of the five cases one belongs to Rajput while the other four to the Koli. This distribution indicates that the polygyny though infrequent is accepted by all the castes, and there is no economic distinction as the Rajput are economically much more well off than the Koli.

In Kinnaur both sororal and non-sororal types of polygyny are present, though sororal polygyny is more in occurrence. Of the six cases of sororal polygyny of the two villages, four cases of sororal polygyny are traceable.

The Gazetteer of Simla Hill States, 1910, also gives evidence of the existence of polygyny in the region. "A man may marry as many wives as he pleases or can afford to keep. If he has more than one wife by regular marriage, the first one married is considered the senior until a son is born, and then the mother of the eldest son is the principal wife and supreme in the household" (1911 : 12).

Usually it is seen that the reason for polygyny is the barrenness of the first wife. When the first wife fails to produce a child, the husband goes for the second wife. While going for the second wife, the husband usually takes the consent of the first wife, who generally gives her consent.

Sororate

Sororate is permissible in Kinnaur. Here a man can marry his wife's sister, elder or younger. But marriage with wife's elder sister is of less frequent. Though sororate is allowed, but the practice is not common among the Kinnaurese.

Due to the prevalence of polyandry, the question of levirate (senior or junior) does not arise.

Exchange marriage

The brother and sister of one household marrying the sister and brother of other household, is in practice in Kinnaur. Sometimes, a man likes to bring the daughter-in-law from a household where he has given marriage of his own daughter. In the same way, he sometimes, gives marriage of his daughter with the brother of his son's wife.

Makpa system

The *makpa* form of marriage is usually practised by those who do not have any male child. In such case, the parents like to select such a boy who would agree to stay with them and help them in the economic pursuit. After marriage this son-in-law, who is called *makpa*, comes to the house of his parents-in-law and stays permanently. He looks after his parents-in-law's household and help them in their economic activities. In their old ages, the parents-in-law depend on their *makpa*. This system of marriage is quite common in Kinnaur.

Age of marriage

Marriage is considered illegal if a man is below 16 years of age and the girl below 12 years. If a marriage is done against this rule, then he or she is punished.

During the pre-independence era if the parents of the boy or the girl below permissible age wanted to give marriage of their son or daughter because of their old age or any other pertinent reason, then the parents had to apply on a stamped paper of one rupee, and the permission would be granted by the authority after a full enquiry. At the time of such enquiry the girl below 12 years should not be forced to be present in the court of enquiry. If the authority wanted to see the girl for ascertaining her age then the authority could do it while he would be on tour to her place.

Polyandry

The people of Kinnaur are practising polyandry since time immemorial. Usually the brothers who are the sons of the same parents, same father/fathers but different mother/mothers, come into a marital bond with a woman (fraternal polyandry). The non-fraternal type, where the husbands are not brothers, is non-existent in this Himalayan district.

Polyandry is practised in Kinnaur as a norm. Even in the past we have records for polyandry. Loyd and Gerard in the middle of 19th Century, marked the presence of this marriage system among these Himalayan people. Gerard writes, "Polyandry as I have before observed, is frequent, and the men assigned as a reason that their trading avocations after forcing them to be absent for a long period from their

homes, it was requisite that females should have more husbands than one. They also acknowledge that it was uncommon to sell their children in seasons of scarcity indeed most Asiatic nations do the same under similar circumstances, but not otherwise" (1846 : 255).

The Gazetteer for Simla Hill States of 1910 gives somewhat details about the polyandry prevalent among the Kinnaurese more than half a Century back. "Polyandry prevails in the greater part of Kanawar and in some places in Rohru tehsil. There are two forms : (i) the higher, where joint husbands are brothers, and (ii) the lower, where they are not brothers. As a rule the former alone is found in Bushahr, but there are instances of the second. Occasionally two men, perhaps of different castes, and certainly not relations will become *dharm bhai*, and share wife, but in such cases the offspring is not admitted into the brotherhood of his father. Cousins sometimes have joint wife. Half brothers often do. But generally speaking, the practice is for the joint wife to be shared by uterine brothers upto the numbers of six. If there are more than six brothers, they get two wives.....Polyandry was in former days directly encouraged by the State through penalties exacted on partition. When a set of brothers divided movable property, one half share of the whole was appropriated by the State, and division of immovable property was refused official recognition" (1911 : 15-16).

The figures of the above table show clearly that polyandry is in vogue in a considerable number in various ethnic groups of Kinnaur. The polyandry was the highest among the Kanet. The Koli have the next higher frequency; and only among these two ethnic groups women having 2 husbands, 3 husbands, 4 husbands and 5 husbands are present.

Even at present the traditional form of marriage is fraternal polyandry. The husbands are always brothers. Usually, the eldest brother goes to the house of the bride and brings her in his parental house where through certain marital rites and rituals, she is wedded to all the brothers. The significant ceremony is the turbandying ceremony. In this case the maternal uncle with a piece of cloth ties turban on the head of all the brothers who sit in a row. This turban tying ceremony legalizes the marriage of the girl with all the brothers.

In Kinnaur in a house where there are three brothers, one brother lives in the house and looks after the house and the cultivable land (*neol* and the *gaon* land), the other brother looks after the sheep and goat. In the month of October he goes out of the district with those sheep and goats for pasture. He remains out of his house from October to May-June when he again returns home with the livestock. The third brother who earlier used to do the trade with Tibet before the closure of the border, now looks after the altitude land (*Kanda*). There he lives in a small hut from April to October. As a result all the three brothers do not live in the same house together at a time. Therefore, the brothers do not feel much difficulty in sharing the wife. When one brother returns home, he gets opportunity to satisfy his carnal appetite. Whenever more than

one brother live in the house, they share the wife uniquely. The period of sharing the wife is divided among the brothers. Whenever one brother enters the room of the wife, he keeps his cap just outside the door before he closes it. The presence of cap on the floor just before the door, will indicate the wife is engaged with one of the brothers.

Though in Kinnaurese polyandrous household, all the brothers have equal chance to share the common wife, yet it is seen that the eldest brother enjoys more privileges than other brothers. Usually the eldest brother goes to bring the bride from the latter's household when usually the rest of the brothers do not accompany. Further, the eldest brother after the death of the father, inherits the property. Then he becomes the head of the household. He stays in the house throughout the year to look after the household and also the cultivable land, and thus naturally gets maximum chance to enjoy the wife. Further, as he becomes the head of the household, he keeps more command over his wife. Moreover, being the head of the household, he allots the duty to his younger brothers and naturally he allots in such a way that other adult brothers go away from the house for a considerable period with their specific job, like grazing of the livestock, trade, cultivation in the high altitude land etc.

Actually in the polyandrous union the rights and the privileges of the different brother-husbands are well defined. The eldest brother by virtue of his seniority, enjoys more privileges. He has the maximum right over the common wife, and he would be loved most by the common wife. She spends maximum time with her eldest husband, and for obvious reason her intimacy with the eldest brother is comparatively more. All the other brothers know it and admit it, of course, it is not that they do not get jealous sometimes. But in most of the cases they agree to it. Again when the eldest brother dies, the next elder brother takes over the charge of the head of the household and enjoys the same rights and privileges as enjoyed by his deceased eldest brother. And this process is continued till the last brother takes over the charge of the household.

It is not that the brothers do not develop conflict between them over the common wife. Sometimes, severe conflicts lead to the break up of the polyandrous household. Sometimes some brother feels that he has been deprived of his right and privileges. In such cases either he demands more privileges and more right over the common wife or he wants to have a wife exclusively for him. Both these demands step forward to break the polyandrous household unit. Sometimes the common wife, shows more interest to a particular brother. This often leads to conflict which separates the brothers.

Often it is seen that in spite of the polyandrous marriage, the eldest brother, or any other brother claims absolute right over the common wife and disallows other brothers from enjoying her. This also proves detrimental and consequently the polyandrous household breaks.

In connection with the frequency of the polyandrous unions in Kinnaur Chandra, in a recent article, mentions that in the village Sungra under

Nachar sub-division (Zone II) 48.92% unions out of a total of 153 cases of all ethnic groups, are polyandrous and polygynandrous. Ethnic groupwise distribution of the said type of union runs as follows. The Rajput have 32.14% out of a total of 84 cases, the Koli have 21.28% out of a total of 47 cases, the Badhi have 30.21% out of a total of 13 cases and the Lohar have 33.33% cases out of a total of 6 cases of such unions. The Nangalu of course, do not have such union.

Regarding the reasons for the polyandry in this district, it may be said that the peculiar ecology and the economy may be responsible. Due to its peculiar ecology, the people cannot afford to have large landholding. Further the land is not very fertile, and as such produce is not sufficient. For this condition in the past, the people of Kinnaur could not afford to have number of small household units or a number of large extended household units. To get rid of these two they could only think of the polyandrous household unit where a number of men could be tied up by a single woman who could only produce less number of children. The land they had, could not afford to keep a big extended household where several brothers would be with individual females. Similarly, the same land was also unable to become the source of livelihood for a number of small household units consisting of the each brother with his own wife and children. The only suitable unit could have been the polyandrous unit which consisted of less number of wives and children where the brothers could live together and work together.

Further, the polyandrous unit helped them in solving the problem of land fragmentation. As the brothers lived in the same household unit with a common wife, the land remained intact. Otherwise, if all the brothers could get separated and build separate household units with their separate wives, the land, the joint unit, so long enjoyed, could automatically get divided, and as such each unit could get a very small area which would definitely become insufficient to each household.

The division of labour is also another factor for the presence of polyandry in this area. Earlier, in a household of three brothers, one used to go to Tibet for trade. He used to remain absent from his house for a considerable period. Another brother used to take the sheep and goats to distant place for grazing. He also remained outside the house for about 6 to 8 months. So, we see that of the three brothers, two remained outside the house for a considerable period. These brothers if they could marry separately, could face much difficulty in taking their wives to the place of trade or along with the sheep and goat for pasture. At the same time they would feel the lack of security to keep them in the house in the village. So all the brothers thought of common marriage so that at least one brother would be in the house who could look after their common wife.

The other reasons for the polyandrous system is that the people in this district always like to live jointly so that they can lead a healthy and happy life. They thought that if the brothers could live together in a

single household and work hard they could make the family prosperous and thereby lead a happy and healthy life. The only way to do so was to marry jointly and lead a family life with a common wife. If all the brothers were tied with a common wife, they would not be able to leave each other, and as such would lead a happy and healthy life.

In connection with the reasons of polyandry in this region, Gazetteer of Bushahr State, 1910 states, "The custom of polyandry is defended by those who practise it, on the ground that it prevents both over population and sub-division of property in a country, where agricultural land is not sufficient for the needs of the inhabitants. It enables a family at brothers to get the full benefit of several sources of livelihood; one can cultivate the joint land, another breed cattle, a third engaged in trade, and so forth.

Polyandry was in former days directly encouraged by the State through penalties exacted on partitions. When a set of brothers divided movable property, one half share of the whole was appropriated by the State, and division of immovable property were refused official recognition" (1911 : 15-16).

Under the polyandrous system the polyandrous household units definitely had higher social status. And being attracted by this superiority of the status, the people also go on practising this type of marriages.

Another reason for the presence of polyandry in Kinnaur as well as in other areas, is that it is an effective measure of checking the growth of population. As the Himalayan regions have inhospitable weather condition, limited resources, high altitude, lack of proper communication, limited cultivable land, less fertility of land, lack of industry etc. so the food supply is also very limited. Naturally, the insufficient supply of food requires the limitation of the growth of population, and the existence of polyandry has helped to solve these problems to great extent.

Thus we see that the polyandrous system among the Kinnaurese is definitely an outcome from the necessity of adaptability of human beings to the most difficult ecological conditions. The main sources of the livelihood of the Kinnaurese were land and livestock. Though land acted as the primary means of the livelihood but in a natural way it had its limitation. It was never bountiful. Moreover, the fertility was less. Besides there were many other adversities such as the problems of manure, problems of irrigation, insufficiency of rainfall and snowfall etc. As a result, this limited area of cultivable land which was undoubtedly insufficient for the existing population of the district could not produce a substantial amount of foodstuff for the Kinnaurese. Rather, the yield that came out of their hard labour from that limited source, could barely meet their demand for a greater part of the year. Similarly for the animals there was definite limitation of the grazing land and also for the fodder. This district could provide very limited area of pasture land for the cattle. At the same time the scope for increasing the area of cultivation and also for pasture was undoubtedly remote. Naturally under this circumstances,

the Kinnaurese adopted polyandry to minimise their growth of population. Alongwith, they had to prohibit marriage for certain boys and girls and to send them to the monastery to become *lama* and *zomo* respectively. These two methods adopted by the Kinnaurese and also by many other people of Western Himalaya, could definitely control the population growth. But due to these restrictions later on, the society faced another problem. Polyandry and the *lamahood* resulted in creating surplus unmarried woman in the society. The Kinnaurese thought of this problem, and thus a new institution, the *zomo* system, started functioning in the Kinnaurese society. The surplus young Kinnaurese girls started living in the monastery as nuns.

Another system that helped the formation and continuity of polyandry in Kinnaurese society is its rules of inheritance. According to rules the eldest brother used to inherit the property after the demise of the father. And this eldest brother became the sole inheritor of the all ancestral property and so long he remained alive he was the sole owner of all the movable and immovable property. As a result of this, the other brothers had to remain dependent on him for their maintenance. If any of the brothers wanted to get separated he would have to give up his claim over the property. He would have no right to take any portion of the property from the core household. Rather he had to give compensation to the child born of the polyandrous union. The situation compelled him to depend on his eldest brother. This isolated high Himalayan land was unable to provide him with any suitable opportunity for a new livelihood. Thus he used to refrain from getting himself separated from the core household but went on living with other brothers and the common wife. From the common wife all the brothers used to get the pleasure of sex life and other aspects of conjugal life. All the brothers remained responsible jointly for the maintenance of the family and carrying the livelihood.

Some informants opine that polyandry was the product of their religion, *i.e.*, Buddhism. Buddhism there, prescribed some unmarried girls for carrying out certain rites and rituals. The firm faith in the religion compelled the Kinnaurese to send a good number of virgin girls to monasteries who after going through many religious ordeals became the *zomo*. As more and more girls took up the *zomohood*, their society faced the problems of the scarcity of unmarried women. As a result, it was difficult for all the men to have individual wife. The society then drew up legislation that the brothers should marry in common. Thus polyandry was introduced in this society. Although there are two varied opinions which link polyandry and *zomo* system, yet it is difficult to say definitely which one actually responsible for the origin of the other, whether *zomo* ship resulted in the formation of polyandry or polyandry brought about the formation of *zomo* system.

Similarly the *zomo* system probably also gave birth of the institution of *haari*. As the suitable unmarried girls were not available, the young

unmarried men cast their eyes on the married wives of others and eloped with them. The husband of the woman then had no option but to accept the situation and agree for *haari*.

It is a fact that polyandry in Kinnaur is on the decline. The older generation says like this, and the younger generation is going to prove it. The older generation says that during their time the brothers in a household had no option but to marry in common. The reason put forwarded by the elderly people of the village is that at that time people did not like to leave the cradle land for any reason other than the call for their traditional jobs like trade and sheep and goat rearing, and also to some extent, winter migration. As they kept themselves confined within the length and breadth of their homeland, they remained bound to obey their traditional customs. So polyandry was practised by all. But now-a-days young people are getting modern education, they are going outside Kinnaur for service and education. Both in home and outside they are coming in contact with people who do not practise polyandry. For all these factors some apathy towards polyandry has gradually developed in them. Now they are gradually getting inclined more and more towards monogamy and started rejecting polyandry which they have marked as 'evil custom'. In the transitional period some people avoided polyandry by going outside Kinnaur and married there or by remaining 'unmarried' throughout their life. Now-a-days the younger generation directly discredits polyandry and refuse any conjugal tie with their brothers wife.

So it is true that polyandry is declining in Kinnaur. The easy communication system, the availability of job, modern education, contact with modern non-polyandrous people from outside Kinnaur, modernisation, etc. are the various factors responsible for the decline of polyandry. Now-a-days the brothers who have got service or remain engaged as labourers, do not remain depended economically on the eldest brother. Even if they do not get ancestral property, the service holders do not mind much. Their economic independence has caused decline of polyandry.

The polyandry in Kinnaur results in two different types of fatherhood—one the biological father and the other sociological father. In the polyandrous unions in Kinnaur, several brothers marry a common wife, and naturally one and only one of the brothers will be responsible for the birth of the child. Rest of the brothers will be free from the responsibility of being the biological father. As there are several husbands and one wife and all the husbands do intercourse with the common wife, so no brother would be sure who was actually responsible for the pregnancy. Only the wife may know which one of the husband is actually responsible for her conception. That is why whenever required the husbands depend on the wife in order to ascertain the exact biological paternity.

Earlier it was a custom in some parts of Kinnaur that the biological fatherhood would be ascertained by the common wife. The verdict of the common wife would be sought to identify the biological father. But

sometimes this led to conflict among the brothers. The reason for such conflicts as forwarded by some Kinnaurese is that sometimes the common wife becomes biased over certain husband with whom she is more attached emotionally. For all such troubles it was settled that so long the eldest brother husband will remain alive, he will be considered as the biological father of all the children born during his lifespan. All the other brothers would be the sociological father/s. The same kinship term *bau* or *aaba* is used for both biological as well as sociological father. No distinction is made between the two. Only the eldest brother is called *teg aaba* (in Zone I) or *teg bau* (in Zone II & III).

The other brothers are called *gato aaba* (in Zone I) or *Gato Bau* (in Zone II & III). *Teg* refers the elder or senior and *gato*, younger or junior. So, no terminological difference is apparent. Behavioural difference is of course, quite marked. Though all the brothers exert their authority over the children, but the authority exerted by the eldest brother over the children is quite prominent. Similarly the children render their obedience more to their 'eldest father' than to their 'younger fathers'. The reason is quite clear. They have seen that their eldest father heads the family and stays with the family throughout the year. But the 'other fathers' remain absent from the core family for a considerable period. Even when they return, they remain under the control of the 'eldest father'. Further they have also realised the eldest father's authority as the head of the household is unquestionable. So for obvious reasons they show difference in their attitude and behaviour between their 'eldest father' (*teg aaba* or *teg bau*) and 'younger fathers' (*gato aaba* or *gato bau*).

This difference was also prevalent in the past. An early account gives a clear picture regarding the question of paternity in polyandrous Kinnaur. "With regards to the allotment of paternity to the children of a polyandrous union, custom differs in various parts of the hills. Among the lower classes in Bushahr the husbands sometimes cast lots for the children. But usually all the husbands are recognised as the fathers of each child, eldest brother being called *teg babach* (elder father) and the others *gato babach* (younger father). For practical purposes of everyday life the eldest living brother is spoken off as the father of all children born of the common wife. If the joint family is broken up for any reason, the wife then names the fathers of the various children" (1911 : 16).

Residence

The Kinnaurese have the two types of residence. But among them some distinction can be seen in regards to the village residence and household residence. If a man brings a wife and stays with his parents, both village and household residence become virilocal. But when he brings wife after marriage and establishes a new household in the same village with his father, then such a residence of marriage is virilocal in respect to the village but neolocal in respect to the household. Further it is

seen that sometimes a villager marries either in his village or outside but settles ultimately in his village. Again after marriage sometimes he settles in his wife's village or in a altogether different village.

Our data on residence pattern show that higher frequency of a particular village residence does not restrict among a particular ethnic group of a particular village, rather it varies. At Chango and Kongos the virilocal village residence is the highest among the Koli and the lowest among the Rajput, but at Rogi it is the highest among the Rajput but the lowest among the Koli; it is, of course, absent among the other ethnic groups. The unilocal village residence also gives identical picture.

So far as the household residence of the Kinnaurese is concerned, it is seen that in most of the cases after marriage, the sons settle in their parental house (virilocal residence). Only in a few cases they establish their own household (neolocal residence). Uxorilocal residence is seen only in case of the *makpa* marriages in which cases the son-in-law moves to the house of the father-in-law and settles there. But this type of residence is definitely rare. Only a case or two of such residence are met in the Kinnauri villages. So the societal profile is the virilocal household residence.

Haari

Haari is a peculiar form of marriage in Kinnaur. Rather it can be called as a combination of both divorce and remarriage. But undoubtedly it is not very popular. By this form of marriage, a married woman separates herself from one set of husbands and remarries another set of husbands. This is done in two ways. In the first way, her husband may sell her to another set of brothers related or unrelated to them or in the second way she may like to get rid of this set of husband and may like to get married with another set of husband. Like the *reet* system in Sirmur, *haari* also "permits a woman to secure release from one set of husband to marry another. This custom ensures that each set of brothers would get for sometime at least, a common wife although there is no guarantee that she would stay with them permanently" (Dube : 1975 see Parmar : 1975 ; XI). This peculiar custom serves as "Marriage to some and divorce to others or again simply as marriage to some or remarriage or widow remarriage to others" (Parmar : *op.cit.*).

In Kinnaur though there is great demand for women because they are the most effective labour force that perform most of the agricultural operations and also attend to different other economic pursuits as in other places of the Himalayan region, still this custom of *haari* does not get much encouragement in Kinnaur. Only a few such cases are found to occur in different areas of this district. Chandra studying 153 marriage cases from three villages of Kinnaur, found only 5.22% cases of *haari* type of marriage. Its occurrence is more in Zone I and comparatively less in Zone II and III. It usually takes place if a married woman indulges

in adultery. The husband or husbands and their relatives at first take all measures to refrain her from doing so. Even sometimes the parents of the woman also take measure so that she changes her mind. Even then if the woman is unwilling then the husbands divorce her and take *haari* money as compensation from the man who is her paramour. On payment of the *haari* money both man and woman earn the right of remarriage. On receipt of the *haari* money former husbands of the woman lose the right over the woman. So it is seen that due to this custom a Kinnauri woman can shift from one set of husbands to another set of husbands. So *haari* permits the movements of woman from one set of brothers to another after divorce.

Sometimes the parents of the girl arrange divorce for their daughter when the latter suffers much in the hand of her husbands and their relatives. The inhospitable domestic environment in certain cases definitely leads to the occurrence of *haari*. In Kinnaur the women are considered as "*Chattela* commodity to be bought and sold" as in the case in Sirmur (Parmar : 1975 ; XI). As stated the frequency of the incidents of *haari* is not much in Kinnaur. At Chango we could come across only three cases. *Haari* money ranges from Rs. 400 to Rs. 3000.

That this *haari* or *reet* system was prevalent in the past in Kinnaur is proved from the passage of the Gazetteer of Bushahr State, 1910. It states that this custom is practised only in the case of the informal and unorthodox marriages, but not applicable to the orthodox elaborate marriage as that was indissoluble (1911 : 4). It further states, "*Reet* is the name applied to the value of clothes and ornaments given to the bride by her husband at the time of marriage. A husband can repudiate his wife by taking away the clothes and ornaments given by him to her. If a wife wishes to leave her husband the marriage can be annuled by the latter's acceptance of the amount of *reet* and a rupee, which is called *chhed karai* (lit. boring through)" (*op.cit.*). The said Gazetteer further notes that "a woman may be the *reet* wife of several men in succession and many of hill women are so. If a woman runs away with another man without her husband's consent, the latter is entitled to recover from the adulterer in the State Court penalty called *harkarn* which varied from Rs. 6 to 12 in addition to the amount of *reet*". (*op. cit.*)

It is very difficult to say why such custom is prevalent in Kinnaur and also in various other parts of the Himalaya. Parmar in connection with this custom (*reet*) among Sirmuri people states that this custom "has been traced by some people to the custom of forcible capture or marriage (of a woman by a Rajput), called *haz* in the hills. In the Hindi tenets, the same has been termed *rakshasa* form of marriage. But mutual love resulting in the elopment of the woman, backed by her economic importance, may have prevailed upon a society in giving her a release from her previous husband if she compensates him for his loss and in this manner divorce may have been introduced to facilitate the working of the society" (*op. cit.*: 67). He further states, "But the women of the

hills very often could not pull on with their husbands. The independence which they had gained in return for their services, they gave them inducement and opportunity to look for a change" (*op. cit.*). The womenfolk of the hills, because of heavy demand for their hard work, usually find out new husbands who are willing to marry them even after their divorce. They supply the major effective labour force in the hilly region, both in their house and agricultural field.

According to some child marriage may be considered as the root cause for this custom. "As we noted before, the result of child marriages in many cases is that the husband and wife cannot get on with each other and daily quarrels and troubles make family life impossible. As the girl-wife comes of age and finds things intolerable, she goes to her parents home and refuses to return to her husband..... The poor husband, deprived of the services of his wife, not only finds life miserable but cannot manage his agricultural operations. He married in expectation of her services in the field and in the house, and with her departure need for a helping hand is renewed. He has two courses open to him. He may either induce her to come back or marry someone else. He cannot recover her because she is not prepared to live with him and he cannot marry again because he has no money. The only course left for him therefore, is to come to an agreement with her and renounce his claim over her in return for some compensation. Thus a means is devised whereby divorce comes to be sanctioned by society. The wife goes to her parents, arranges marriage with another, pays the compensation to the first husband and a marriage for the second. This payment determines the dissolution of marriage. It thus serves as divorce for the first husband and a marriage for the second" (*op. cit.* : 69). Soon as the payment is made the marital bond between the man and the woman is dissolved. The root cause of *haari* is the adultery either in the part of either the husband or the wife. But the *haari* usually does not take place even if either of the couple does not bow down to the wishes of the other as that found in Sirmur where "if the husband finds that his wife does not act according to his wishes or if the wife in turn finds that her husband has no respect for her wishes, they decide to part and the wife goes home and arranges another marriage after paying *reet*" (*op. cit.*). Of the various other reasons severe conflict and quarrel between husband and wife in connection with the economic, social or religious affair, particularly economic, sometimes leads to *haari*. Impotency on the part of husband can also lead to *haari*. If the husband suffers from some contagious and incurable disease or if the husband is physically or mentally handicapped, the wife can think of divorce and remarriage.

Now the question arises whether this is a form of marriage or not. According to Parmar (*op. cit.*: 71), "...in Kangra district, Bushahr, Kulu and Saraj, Jubbal and Kumarsain it might be treated as a form of marriage". But it seems in Kinnaur, this is not a form of marriage, rather it can be termed as divorce and remarriage. Though Parmar has written that in

the Simla Hills, Kulu, Kangra, Chamba and Lahaul even unmarried girls are given in marriage according to *reet*, but at least for Kinnaur his view is probably not correct. Here a man can marry a woman by *haari* but woman cannot have a man as husband by the same method. The first marriage of the girl is by *zanekang* method.

The people of Himalayas have started finding out the defects of this system. They have just started thinking that due to this system "all domestic ties have become loose and marriage has lost stability and cannot keep the society. While a woman is free to leave her husband at her sweet will, she has much liberty in choosing her friends and companions".

Household

The Kinnaurese term for house is *kim*. The same term is used for indicating a household or family. The members of a household are called *kimperang*. A Kinnauri household may be defined as a group of persons related by blood, marriage or adoption residing together and dining from a common hearth. In Kinnauri language hearth is called *melling* and their belief is that those related persons prepare and eat food from the same *melling* and live in the same *kim*, i.e., house are *kimperang*, i.e., family members, and they constitute the *kim* or household. The *kim* in Kinnaur acts ideally as the basic residential, economic, social and religious unit. At present two distinct types of *kim* are present in this Himalayan district—one based on monandry while the other on polyandry. The former yields a definite nuclear unit consisting of the husband, wife and the unmarried children while the other, an extended polyandrous/polygynandrous unit where the brothers live with their common wife/wives. In fact, adelphic polyandrous household unit can be called as the characteristic of Kinnaur. In Kinnaur household the authority rests on the men, and the seniormost male member actually holds the authority and is considered as the head of the household. After his death his next brother holds the anchor of the household. In the nuclear household the father holds the authority and after his death his eldest son. But sometimes when the father gets old or becomes unable to perform the duties due to illness, old age or such other reasons, the eldest son, if he is adult, act as the *de facto*, head of the household. In a polyandrous or polygynandrous household on the other hand, the eldest brother actually acts as the head of the household. After the death of the eldest brother, in such an household, the authority rests on the next brother. In this way one brother after another becomes the head of the household. When all the brothers die then their eldest son succeeds to the authority.

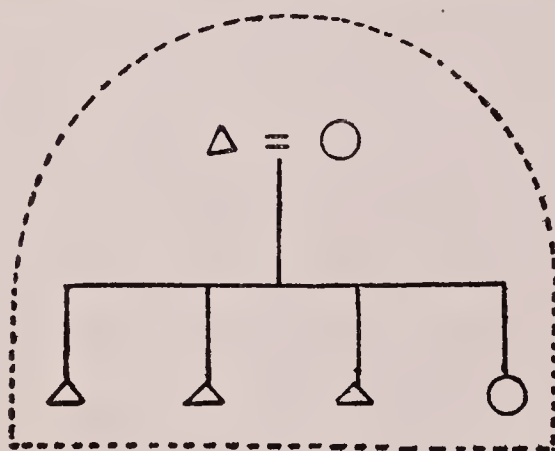
The Kinnauri household is essentially a parti-kin oriented patrilocal unit with virilocal residence. After marriage the malefolk bring their wives in their parental household. Such households which practise *makpa* system are actually of different type. In such cases the nuclear

households are without any male child. So, they bring the son-in-law to their house as a permanent member instead of sending their daughter to their husband's house. These households bring son-in-law for they need helping hand. Such a household consists of either or both the parents, their daughter and her husband. This system is prevalent mostly in the nuclear household.

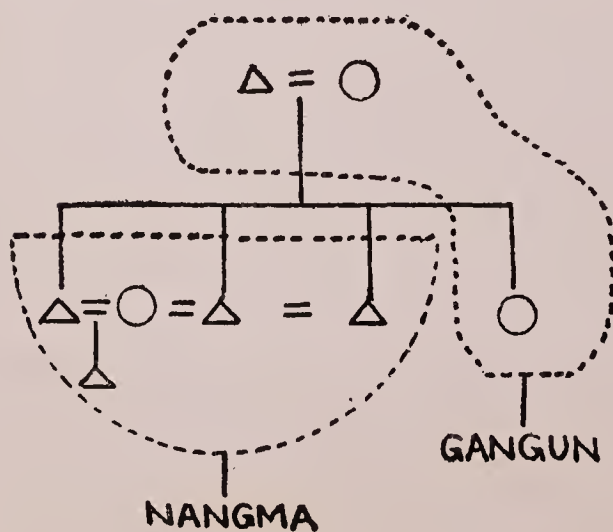
NANGMA - GANGUN SYSTEM

ZONE I

HOUSEHOLD BEFORE MARRIAGE OF SONS

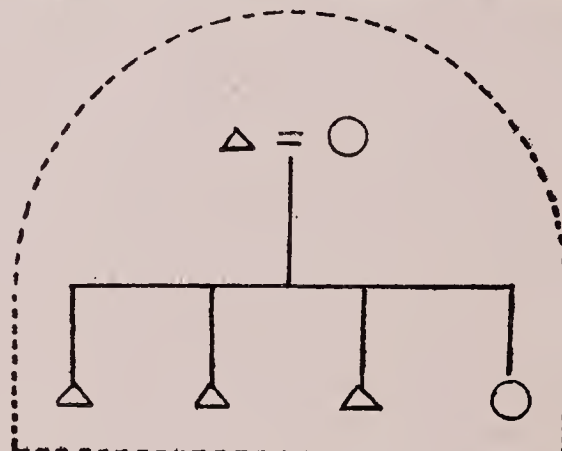


HOUSEHOLD AFTER MARRIAGE OF SONS AND BIRTH OF GRAND CHILD

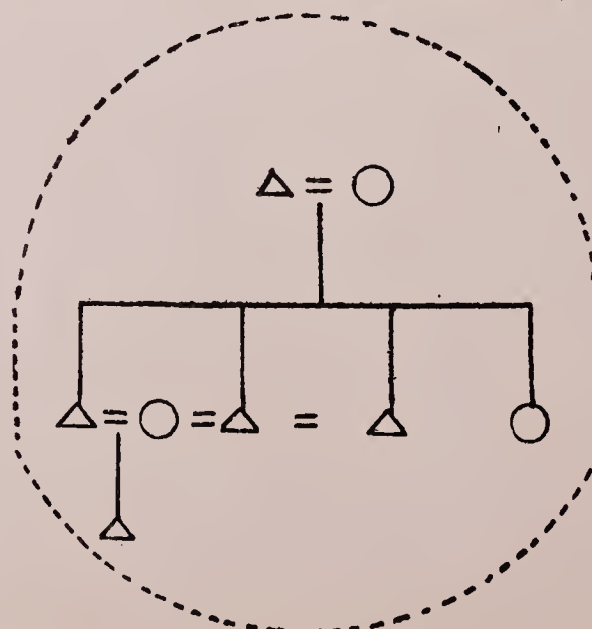


ZONE II & III

HOUSEHOLD BEFORE MARRIAGE OF SONS



HOUSEHOLD AFTER MARRIAGE OF SONS AND BIRTH OF GRAND CHILD



It is usual in the Kinnaurese household of Zone II and Zone III, particularly, the households of the Rajput, sons after their marriage, live with their parents. The parents and their married sons with their wife/wives constitute the same household unit. But in the Zone I (and also in some parts of Zone III) the parents and the married sons usually do not continue to stay in the same household for a long time. In this zone, "the parents usually build separate house for their old age where they move with their unmarried daughters when their married sons get a child. Before their departure, the parents usually distribute their property including the land and the house, to their married sons after keeping some land and some movable property for them. In the original household where the brothers live with their common wife and child/children, the eldest brother becomes the head of the household and the other brothers remain under his control" (Raha : 1975). The natal household which is called *nangma*, is that original household where the sons live with their common wife/wives and child. The newly constituted household resided by their parents and their unmarried sisters, is known as *gangun*. Thus in this way two different households are formed from a single household unit. Though the parents and their male children, thus form two different household units, they always keep link between them. Strong socio-economic and socio-religious ties are always kept between the *nangma* and the *gangun*. The married sons, even after the separation, help their parents when they are unable to earn their livelihood.

Size of the household

The various ethnic groups of the district of Kinnaur have varied sizes of the household. The size of the household varies not only from village to village but at the same time from ethnic group to ethnic group.

The 1961 Census returned the average size of the household of Kinnaur as 5.40 on the basis of the 20 % sample covering 1,342 households having 7,243 persons, (Singh 1965 : 136-137) which would definitely be considered as the medium-size household. But our sample in six villages; two from each sub-divisions covering 509 households with a population of 2,959, yields an average size of 5.81. Through Tables 39 and 40 we have tried to show the size of the households of various ethnic groups living in different villages surveyed by us. The average size of the households of all the three villages, Chango, Kongos and Rogi belonging to Zone I, II and III respectively is 5.63 which is a bit larger than the average size of the household as returned by 1961 Census. On the other hand, the average size of the household of all the ethnic groups of the other three villages, Namgia, Sungra and Duni belonging to Zones, I II and III respectively, combined together, comes to 6.02 which is again higher than the same of former three villages and also the same of the district as returned by Census-of 1961.

Here it is important to mention that the average size of the household

of all the ethnic groups of Chango (5.02) is much smaller than that returned in 1961 Census and also from that for all ethnic groups of all villages. But the average size of the household of all ethnic groups of Kongos is bigger than that returned in 1961 Census but smaller than that of the all ethnic groups of all villages. The same for Rogi, on the other hand, is much bigger than that of both.

If the households of the former three villages Chango, Kongos and Rogi are considered together, the average size of the household of the Koli (5.91) becomes bigger than that of the Rajput (5.56) or of the other ethnic groups (5.00).

As we come to the individual ethnic groups of the three different villages, we see that the Rajput of Rogi, have the largest household size (7.75), much larger than that of their brethren living in Kongos and Chango. In fact, they have the largest average size household among all the ethnic groups of all the villages. The Rajput of Kongos have the smallest average household size in comparison to the Rajput living in two other villages.

Among the Koli of these three villages, as it is seen from Table 35, these people of Kongos have the average household size (6.47) larger than that of their brethren residing in two other villages. The Koli of Chango have the smallest average size of the household (4.60).

On the other hand, larger average size of the household among the other ethnic groups is found at Chango. Their brethren at Rogi have the next higher type.

Now, if a comparison is made among various ethnic groups of all these three villages, it is found that at Chango the average size of the household of the other ethnic groups is larger than that of the Rajput and the Koli. Reversely, at Kongos the Koli have much larger size of the household (average) than that of either the Rajput or the other ethnic groups, the latter having the smallest one. The picture at Rogi is altogether different. Here the Rajput have much larger household size than that of both the Koli and the other ethnic groups the latter having the smaller size of the household. So, it is seen that the other ethnic groups of Chango, the Koli of Kongos and the Rajput of Rogi have the largest average size of the household.

In the other set of three villages, Namgia, Sungra and Duni somewhat different picture is found (Table 36). Here, as already stated the average size of all the ethnic groups living in all the three villages is 6.02. Among all the ethnic groups of the three villages, the Rajput have the largest average household size (6.25) followed by the Koli (5.75). Again among the Rajput of all the three villages of Duni have much larger size of household (7.11) than those at the other two villages, Sungra and Namgia. At the last village, the Rajput have the smallest household size. Rather it may be said that the Rajput of Duni have the largest average household size among all the ethnic groups of all three villages. The Koli of Sungra on the other hand have much large average size of the household than

TABLE 35. Average size of the Kinnaurese household

Villages	ETHNIC GROUPS											
	RAJPUT			KOLI			OEG			ALL ETHNIC GROUPS		
	Total Popu- lation	Total House- hold	Average size of the Household	Total Popu- lation	Total House- hold	Average size of the Household	Total Popu- lation	Total House- hold	Average size of the Household	Total Popu- lation	Total House- hold	Average size of the Household
Chango	585	116	5.04	46	10	4.60	27	5	5.40	658	131	5.02
Kongos	196	40	4.90	194	30	6.47	13	3	4.33	403	73	5.52
Rogi	310	40	7.75	127	22	5.77	10	2	5.00	447	64	6.98
Total	1091	196	5.56	367	62	5.91	50	10	5.00	1508	268	5.63

TABLE 36. Average size of the households of three other villages of Kinnaur

Villages	ETHNIC GROUPS											
	RAJPUT				KOLI				OEG			
	Total Popu- lation	Total House- hold	Average size of the Household	Total Popu- lation	Total House- hold	Average size of the Household	Total Popu- lation	Total House- hold	Average size of the Household	Total Popu- lation	Total House- hold	Average size of the Household
Namgia	170	31	5.48	78	14	5.57	6	2	3.00	254	47	5.40
Sungra	284	49	5.75	189	30	6.30	79	13	6.08	552	92	6.00
Duni	377	53	7.11	268	49	5.47	—	—	—	645	102	6.33
Total	831	133	6.25	535	93	5.75	85	15	5.67	1451	241	6.02

their brethren at Namgia and Duni. For the other ethnic groups, also, identical picture is seen. Their average household size at Sungra is much larger than that at Namgia which has the smallest household size among all the ethnic groups of all the three villages.

If a comparison is made among the various ethnic groups of individual villages, it is seen that at Namgia and Sungra the average size of the household of the Koli is larger than that of both the Rajput and the other ethnic groups. At Duni on the other hand, the average size of the household of the Rajput is much larger than that of the Koli of the same village.

So, on the whole, it is seen that the Rajput of Rogi have the largest and the other ethnic groups of Namgia have the smallest average size households among all the ethnic groups of all the six villages.

As seen from Table 37, the size of the household of the three villages surveyed varies. While at Chango this varies from 1 to 13 members in a household, at Kongos it is from 1 to 14. At Rogi, on the other hand, the number of members in a household varies from 2 to 15. At Chango while the household with 12 members is absent, at Kongos the same with 8 members are lacking. At Rogi, of course, households with one member is not present.

As we distribute the households on the basis of the number of members in each household (Table 41) we find that at Chango the highest frequency goes to the households with 6 members each (18.32%), but at Kongos the same goes to the household with 5 members each (21.92%). At Rogi, households with 5 members have the highest frequency (14.06%).

When we see the size of the households of the various ethnic groups, we find that the size of the households varies from one ethnic group to another, and from one ethnic group of one village to the same ethnic group of another village.

At Chango the Rajput have 116 households, the size of which varies from one member to 13 members. But the size of the 10 Koli households varies from one member to 7 members. On the other hand, among the other ethnic groups who have 5 households varying from 2 to 9 members.

From Chango if we come to Kongos under Zone II, we find that the Rajput households, 40 in number have number of members varying from 2 to 13 with households. Among the Koli of this village on the other hand, 30 households have number of members varying from 1 to 14. But the other ethnic groups who have only three households, have members between 3 to 5 with household with 4 members being absent.

As we move to Rogi village under Zone III, we see the 40 Rajput households have the number of members varying from 2 to 15. The Koli of this village also have the households with number of members varying from 2 to 15. The other ethnic groups have only 2 households and both of these two are 5-member households.

If a comparison is made between the households of the same ethnic groups living in different villages, the variation in sizes can easily be

TABLE 37. Size of the Kinnaurese Household.

Sl. No.	CHANGO							
	Rajput		Koli		OEG		All Ethnic Groups	
	Total	%	Total	%	Total	%	Total	%
1.	5	4.31	1	10.00	—	—	6	4.58
2.	15	12.93	1	10.00	1	20.00	17	12.98
3.	17	14.66	1	10.00	1	20.00	19	14.50
4.	14	12.07	1	10.00	—	—	15	11.45
5.	17	14.66	2	20.00	—	—	19	14.50
6.	21	18.10	2	20.00	1	20.00	24	18.32
7.	10	8.62	2	20.00	1	20.00	13	9.92
8.	5	4.31	—	—	—	—	5	3.82
9.	5	4.31	—	—	1	20.00	6	4.58
10.	4	3.45	—	—	—	—	4	3.05
11.	2	1.72	—	—	—	—	2	1.53
12.	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
13.	1	0.86	—	—	—	—	1	0.76
14.	—	—	—	—	—	—		
15.	—	—	—	—	—	—		
Total	116	100.00	10	100.00	5	100.00	131	99.99

KONGOS								
1.	—	—	1	3.33	—	—	1	1.37
2.	5	12.50	2	6.67	—	—	7	9.59
3.	6	15.00	1	3.33	1	33.33	8	10.96
4.	7	17.50	5	16.68	—	—	12	16.44
5.	10	25.00	4	13.33	2	66.67	16	21.92
6.	6	15.00	6	20.00	—	—	12	16.44
7.	3	7.50	4	13.33	—	—	7	9.59
8.	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
9.	1	2.50	1	3.33	—	—	2	2.74
10.	—	—	1	3.33	—	—	1	1.37
11.	1	2.50	1	3.33	—	—	2	2.74
12.	—	—	1	3.33	—	—	1	1.39
13.	1	2.50	2	6.67	—	—	3	4.11
14.	—	—	1	3.33	—	—	1	1.37
15.	—	—	—	—	—	—		
Total	40	100.00	30	99.99	3	100.00	73	100.01

TABLE 37. Size of the Kinnaurese Household. (*Contd.*)

Sl. No.	ROGI							
	Rajput		Koli		OEG		All Ethnic Groups	
	Total	%	Total	%	Total	%	Total	%
1.	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
2.	4	10.00	3	13.64			7	10.94
3.	4	10.00	3	13.64			7	10.94
4.	2	5.00	2	9.09			4	6.25
5.	3	7.50	4	18.18	2	100.00	9	14.06
6.	3	7.50	2	9.09			5	7.81
7.	3	7.50	1	4.54			4	6.25
8.	3	7.50	5	22.73			8	12.50
9.	3	7.50	—	—			3	4.69
10.	3	7.50	1	4.54			4	6.25
11.	5	12.50	—	—			5	7.81
12.	2	5.00	—	—			2	3.13
13.	1	2.50	—	—			1	1.56
14.	3	7.50	—	—			3	4.69
15.	1	2.50	1	4.54			2	3.13
Total	40	100.00	22	99.99	2	100.00	64	100.01

detected. While the largest size of households among the Rajput of Rogi is with 15 members, at Kongos it is with 14 and at Chango it is with 14 members. Again while Chango has 5 single-membered households, the other two villages have no such household. Further, while at Chango households of the Rajput with 6 members have the highest frequency (18.10%) followed by households with 3 and 5 members, at Kongos households with 5 members (among the Rajput) have the highest frequency followed by those with 4 members. Among the Rajputs of Rogi, households with 11 members have the highest frequency followed by those with 2 and 3 members.

While among the Koli of Chango households with 5, 6 and 7 members each have the highest frequency (20.00% each), the Koli living in Kongos village have households with 6 members each having the highest frequency. But at Rogi Koli households with 8 members drew the highest frequency.

While among the other ethnic groups of Chango, households with 2, 3, 6, 7 and 9 members have equal strength at Kongos households with 5 members have the highest frequency. At Rogi these people have households with 5 members only.

In order to examine the size of various types of households, the households of all ethnic groups of all three villages studied have been grouped into five different categories—(i) Nuclear (ii) Extended (iii) Polygynous (iv) Polyandrous and polygynandrous and (v) 'Other types'. (Table 38)

TABLE 38. Population and average size of different type of Household (Contd.)

Type of Household	KONGOS								
	Rajput			Koli			OEG		
	Total Household	Total Population	Average Size	Total Household	Total Population	Average Size	Total Household	Total Population	Average Size
Nuclear	17	78 39.80	4.59	8	33 17.01	4.12	2	8 61.54	4.00
Extended	8	48 24.49	6.00	8	54 27.84	6.75	1	5 38.46	5.00
Polygynous	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Polyandrous & Polygynandrous	7	46 23.47	6.57	11	95 48.97	8.64	—	—	—
Other Type	8	24 12.24	3.00	3	12 6.16	4.00	—	—	—
Total	40	196 100.00	4.90	30	194 100.00	6.47	3	13 100.00	4.33

TABLE 38. Population and average size of different type of Household (Contd.)

Type of Household	ALL VILLAGES											
	Rajput				Koli				OEG			
	Total House-hold	Total Popula-tion	Average Size	Total House-hold	Total Popula-tion	Average Size	Total House-hold	Total Popula-tion	Total House-hold	Total Popula-tion	Average Size	All Total
Nuclear	73	323 29.61	4.42	15	67 18.26	4.47	6	23 46.00	94	413 27.39	3.83	4.39
Extended	30	174 15.95	5.80	13	83 22.62	6.38	1	5 100.00	44	262 17.37	5.00	5.95
Polygynous	1	8 0.73	8.00	2	15 4.08	7.50	1	9 18.00	4	32 2.12	9.00	8.00
Polyandrous & Polygynandrous	56	449 41.15	8.02	20	155 42.23	7.75	2	13 26.00	78	617 40.92	6.50	7.91
Other Type	36	137 12.56	3.81	12	47 12.81	3.92	—	—	48	184 12.20	—	3.83
Total	196	1091 100.00	5.57	62	367 100.00	5.92	10	50 100.00	268	1508 100.00	5.00	5.63

If all the households of all the ethnic groups of all villages are put together, the total number of households will come to 268 with a population of 1,508. Thus the average size of the household will come to 5.63. Of these 268 households of all ethnic groups of all the villages put together, the nuclear type of households have the highest frequency (35.07%). Seventy eight polyandrous-polygynandrous households, cover 29.10%. Both 'Other types' and extended type of households have quite significant strength. It clearly indicates that in a polyandrous society, nuclear households have a good strength and are quite important.

When we come to the average size of the different type of households, it is seen that the polygynous households have the largest size (8.00). Next to it comes polyandrous-polygynandrous type. The 'Other types' of households have the smallest size (3.83).

When the size of the households is judged ethnic groupwise, it is seen that among the Rajput of all villages, the credit for the largest size of household goes to the polyandrous-polygynandrous type which has an average of 8.02 members. The polygynous households have the next larger size (8.0). The 'Other type' households of this ethnic group has the smaller size (3.92).

Among the Koli of all villages, polyandrous-polygynandrous households have the largest size with 7.75 members on an average per household. The polygynous households have the next larger size with 7.50 members per household on an average. The extended households in this ethnic group, have also significantly large size with 6.38 persons.

The polygynous households among the other ethnic groups on the other hand, have the largest size with 9.00 members per household. The polyandrous-polygynandrous households have the next larger size with 6.50 members on an average per household. The nuclear households have the smallest size.

When we judge the size of different type of households belonging to various ethnic groups of different villages, we find quite an interesting picture. Among the Rajput of Chango village under Zone I, polyandrous-, polygynandrous households have the largest size, 7.19 members per household on an average. The extended households among them have next larger size (5.32). The 'Other type' households have the smallest size.

Among the Koli of this village on the other hand, the extended households have the largest size with 5.50 members per household on an average. It is followed by the nuclear type, and like the Rajput the 'Other type' households have the smallest size.

The other ethnic groups who have only nuclear, polygynous and polyandrous-polygynandrous households have polygynous households having the largest size, and these are unusually larger with an average of 9 members per household. The next larger size is held by polyandrous-polygynandrous households. The nuclear type has the smallest size.

In case of the individual villages, variation of size of different types of households among various ethnic groups living in that village is seen.

At Chango, the 'Other type' households among the Rajput, have the smallest average size. But among the Koli of this village, the picture is different. Among them though the households under the 'Other types' have the smallest size, yet both nuclear and extended households are larger in size than the polyandrous-polygynandrous households. Among the other ethnic groups who have only nuclear, polygynous and polyandrous-polygynandrous households, the former type of household is much smaller than the other two, the polygynous households being the largest with as many as 9 members on an average.

Again in this village under Zone I, the size of the nuclear households among the Koli are the largest and that among the other ethnic groups are the smallest. In case of the extended households the same among Koli are larger than that among the Rajputs. But the average size of the polyandrous-polygynandrous households is the largest among the Rajput and the smallest among the Koli.

At Kongos village under Zone II the polyandrous-polygynandrous households among the Rajput have the largest size, next in order, come extended households. The 'Other type' households are the smallest in size. The same is the picture for the Koli. But the polyandrous-polygynandrous households among them are much larger (8.64) than the extended households (6.75) which come next in order. But in the case of the two types of households, nuclear and extended, the latter ones are larger than the former ones.

Again here among the various ethnic groups, the nuclear households among the Rajput are larger in size than those of the Koli and the other ethnic groups. Of the latter two ethnic groups, the size of the nuclear households among the Koli is larger than that of the other ethnic groups. In case of the extended households on the other hand, the size of the same are larger among the Koli than those among the Rajput, which on their turn, are larger than those of the other ethnic groups. So far as the polyandrous-polygynandrous households are concerned, the same among the Koli are much larger than those of the Rajput.

At Rogi under Zone III, the polyandrous-polygynandrous households among the Rajput are usually larger and much larger than the households of any ethnic group of any village. The nuclear households are the smallest in size. Among the Koli the polyandrous-polygynandrous households are identically, the largest sized households, of course not as large as those of the Rajput. The polygynous households among them have the next larger size. The 'Other types' among them are the smallest in size. The other ethnic groups have only nuclear households.

While judging the size of the various types of households among the various ethnic groups of this village it seen at Rogi that the nuclear households among the Rajput are the largest in size followed by those of the other ethnic groups. The Koli have the smallest sized nuclear households. But the polygynous, polyandrous-polygynandrous and the 'Other types' households among the Rajput are larger in size (average)

than the same of the Koli. In fact extended, polyandrous-polygynandrous and polygynous households among the Rajput of this village are the largest sized households among all the ethnic groups of all the three villages studied.

If further analysis of the size of the different types of households as present among the same ethnic group of different villages is made, some interesting features will come up. If the size of the nuclear households among the Rajput of all the three villages is compared, it will be seen that the same among the Rajput of Rogi are larger in size than those of the Rajput of the other two villages. Of the other two villages, the size of the nuclear households of the Rajput of Kongos village is larger than those of the Rajput of Chango village.

The extended households among these people also show the identical trend. The size of these households among them at Rogi is the largest while those of these people at Chango is the smallest. But if the size of the polyandrous-polygynandrous households of the Rajput of the three villages is compared, it is seen that the size of these types of households among the Rajput of Rogi is unusually larger than those of the Rajput of Chango which in their turn, is larger in size than those of the Rajput of Kongos village. The largest size 'Other type' households of the Rajputs are found at Rogi followed by those of Chango. At Kongos the same is the smallest in size.

Identically, the size of the different types of households among the Koli of all the three villages also vary. The size of the nuclear households among the Koli of Chango is larger than the same of the Koli of the other two villages, and of these two villages the same of the Koli of Rogi is larger than the same of the Koli at Kongos. In case of the size of the extended households among the Koli, it is seen that the same among them at Kongos is the largest while that among the Koli of Chango is the smallest.

But the size of the polyandrous-polygynandrous households among these people at all the three villages gives some different picture. While the size of this type of households among these people at Kongos is the largest, the same among them at Chango is the smallest.

A different picture is again available when the size of the 'Other types' households are analysed. The same among the Koli of Rogi has the largest size while that among them at Chango is the smallest.

Thus from the analysis of the size of different types of households it reflects that the same among the different ethnic groups of different villages is different. It is thus clear that (i) even if the different ethnic groups live in the same ecological conditions, the size of the same type of households among different ethnic groups will vary (ii) further if the same ethnic group lives in different ecological conditions, the size of the same or different household types also vary, and (iii) even in the same ecological conditions, the size of the different types of households of the same ethnic group also vary.

Household Types

The present day Kinnaurese household are of different types. Though the Kinnaurese in general consists of extended households but nuclear type of households are also seen in good number.

Table 39 supplies us with a list of different types of household.' Of the different types of households present in the three villages studied either nuclear or polyandrous-polygynandrous households have the highest frequency. At Chango among the Rajput nuclear households have the highest frequency (36.21 %). This type of household is followed by the polyandrous-polygynandrous ones which have the strength of 27.59 %. Both 'Other types' and the extended types in this ethnic group, have also significant strength (19.83 % and 16.37 % respectively).

Among the Koli of this village both nuclear and polyandrous-polygynandrous households have equal strength while extended and 'Other types' of household have equal strength. But undoubtedly the former group of household types has higher frequency than that of the latter.

Among the other ethnic groups both nuclear and polyandrous-polygynandrous households have an equal frequency of 40.00 % each. The rest 20.00 % of the households are polygynous in nature.

At Kongos in a similar way, the Rajput have the largest number of the nuclear households (42.50 %) followed by the extended and 'Other type', each type forms 20.00 % of the total Rajput households. The Rajput of this village have only 17.50 % of their households as polyandrous-polygynandrous type.

But on the other hand the Koli of this village have the highest number of households as polyandrous-polygynandrous type with a frequency of 36.66 %. The nuclear and extended type come next, each having a frequency of 26.67 %. But the other ethnic groups of this village do not have polyandrous-polygynandrous type of household. The majority of their households are nuclear type (66.67 %), the rest being extended ones.

When we cast our glance on the household types of the Rajput of the village Rogi under Zone III, we see that polyandrous-polygynandrous type of households have the maximum strength (42.50 %). The next higher frequency is held by the nuclear type (35.00 %). The 'Other types' households have quite a significant strength (12.50 %). But among the Koli, on the other hand, 'Other types' have the highest frequency (31.82 %) followed by the polyandrous-polygynandrous one which has a strength of 27.27 %. The nuclear type of households is none-the-less important. It bears a frequency of 18.18 %. The other ethnic groups of this village have only the nuclear type of household.

From the above discussion it is clear that both nuclear and polyandrous-polygynandrous types of households cover majority of the households of almost all the ethnic groups of all the villages.

TABLE 39. Distribution of different type of Households

Type of Households	CHANGO						KONGOS						ROGI					
	Rajput		Koli		OEG		Rajput		Koli		OEG		Rajput		Koli		OEG	
	No. of House-hold	%	No. of House-hold	%	No. of House-hold	%	No. of House-hold	%	No. of House-hold	%	No. of House-hold	%	No. of House-hold	%	No. of House-hold	%	No. of House-hold	%
Nuclear	42	36.21	3	30.00	2	40.00	17	42.50	8	26.67	2	66.67	14	35.00	4	18.18	2	100.0
Extended	19	16.37	2	20.00	—	—	8	20.00	8	26.67	1	33.33	3	7.50	3	13.64	—	—
Polygynous	—	—	—	—	1	20.00	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	2.50	2	9.09	—	—
Polyandrous & Polygynandrous	32	27.59	3	30.00	2	40.00	7	17.50	11	36.66	—	—	17	42.50	6	27.27	—	—
Other Types	23	19.83	2	20.00	—	—	8	20.00	3	10.00	—	—	5	12.50	7	31.82	—	—
Total	116	100.00	10	100.00	5	100.00	40	100.00	30	100.00	3	100.00	40	100.00	22	100.00	2	100.00

Distribution of population in different types of households

The figures of Table 40 illustrate that of the total population of all the ethnic groups of all villages (1,508), the polyandrous-polygynandrous households cover the maximum number (40.92%). The nuclear type covers the next higher number of population (27.39%) followed by the extended type (17.37%). The polygynous type of households covers the least number of populations.

When the population and the households of different ethnic groups of all the villages are correlated, it is seen that of the total population of the Rajput (1,091), 41.15% are covered by the polyandrous-polygynandrous households and 29.61% by the nuclear type but only 0.73% by the polygynous types.

Among the Koli also the highest number of population is covered by the polyandrous-polygynandrous households (41.23%). The next higher frequency goes to the extended households which cover 22.62% of the total Koli population (367) of all villages instead of nuclear type as in the case of the Rajput. Of course, the nuclear type covers the next higher number of population (18.26%).

But in case of the other ethnic groups the highest number of population (46.00%) is covered by the nuclear type of households. The polyandrous-polygynandrous households share the next higher strength (26.00%).

Thus it is seen that the largest number of population is covered by the polyandrous-polygynandrous households in case of the Rajput and the Koli but nuclear type in case of the other ethnic groups.

If the different ethnic groups of different villages are examined, it speaks that among the Rajput of Chango the largest number of population is covered by the polyandrous-polygynandrous households. The next higher number of the Rajput population is shared by the nuclear type. But among the Koli the condition is directly reverse. Here the largest number of population is covered by the nuclear type of households while the next strength is shared by the polyandrous-polygynandrous households. Among the other ethnic groups on the other hand, the polyandrous-polygynandrous households hold the highest number of population (48.15%) while the next higher strength goes to the polygynous households.

At Kongos the largest number of the Rajput population (39.80%) is covered by the nuclear households. The next strength is secured by the extended types. The Koli population on the other hand, has been started with the largest strength by the polyandrous-polygynandrous households. The extended one has the next higher strength. But among the other ethnic groups of the two types of households, the former one covers the majority of the population of other ethnic groups (61.54%), the rest goes to the latter type.

At the village of Rogi, the majority of the Rajput population (55.81%)

TABLE 40. Distribution of population in different types of households

Types of Households	CHANGO							
	Rajput		Koli		OEG		All Ethnic Groups	
	Population	%	Population	%	Population	%	Population	%
Nuclear	174	29.74	15	32.62	5	18.52		
Extended	101	17.26	11	23.91	—	—		
Polygynous	—	—	—	—	9	33.33		
Polyandrous & Polygynandrous	230	39.32	14	30.43	13	48.15		
Other Types	80	13.68	6	13.04	—	—		
Total	585	100.00	46	100.00	27	100.00		

TABLE 40. Distribution of population in different types of households (Contd.)

Types of Households	KONGOS							
	Rajput		Koli		OEG		All Ethnic Groups	
	Population	%	Population	%	Population	%	Population	%
Nuclear	78	39.80	33	17.01	8	61.54		
Extended	48	24.49	54	27.84	5	38.46		
Polygynous	—	—	—	—	—	—		
Polyandrous & Polygynandrous	46	23.47	95	48.97	—	—		
Other Types	24	12.24	12	6.18	—	—		
Total	196	100.00	194	100.00	13	100.00		

TABLE 40. Distribution of population in different types of households (Contd.)

Types of Households	ROGI					
	Rajput		Koli		OEG	
	Population	%	Population	%	Population	%
Nuclear	71	22.90	19	14.96	10	100.00
Extended	25	8.06	18	14.17		
Polygynous	8	2.50	15	11.81		
Polyandrous & Polygynandrous	173	55.81	46	36.23		
Other Types	33	10.65	29	22.83		
Total	310	100.00	127	100.00	10	100.00

TABLE 40. Distribution of population in different types of households (Contd.)

Types of Households	ALL VILLAGES							
	Rajput		Koli		OEG		All Total	
	Population	%	Population	%	Population	%	Population	%
Nuclear	323	29.61	67	18.26	23	46.00	413	27.39
Extended	174	15.95	83	22.62	5	10.00	262	17.37
Polygynous	8	0.73	15	4.08	9	18.00	32	2.12
Polyandrous & Polygynandrous	449	41.15	155	42.23	13	26.00	617	40.92
Other Types	137	12.56	47	12.81	—	—	184	12.20
Total	1091	100.00	367	100.00	50	100.00	1508	100.00

is under the polyandrous-polygynandrous households while the next higher strength goes to the credit of the nuclear households. But among the Koli though the largest number of population is shared by the polyandrous-polygynandrous households, but the next higher number of populations covered by the 'Other types' households. In case of the other ethnic groups on the other hand, the whole population merge in the nuclear households.

Among the Rajput population of different villages, while the largest bulk of population is covered by the polyandrous-polygynandrous households at Chango and Rogi, the same is covered by the nuclear households at Kongos.

Among the Koli, on the other hand, the largest population is covered by the nuclear households at Chango, at Kongos and Rogi the highest population falls under polyandrous-polygynandrous households.

Among the other ethnic groups on the other hand, the largest population is covered by the polyandrous-polygynandrous households at Chango, but by the nuclear households at Kongos and Rogi.

Thus from the above discussion it is evident that in all the villages the polyandrous-polygynandrous households cover the highest number of people. The next larger bulk of population is covered by the nuclear households. The extended households also cover quite a large population. That means in a polyandrous society like Kinnaur, the non-polyandrous nuclear and extended households also have important place.

In the Kinnaur households, presence of the members belonging to two generations—the generations of self or ego and his first descending generations is a marked feature. Presence of members belonging to various other generations is also met but of course, in a less number.

Hu-wi combination in the Kinnauri households

"Polyandry is an old custom among the Kinnaurese. Polyandrous marriage leads to the formation of the polyandrous households. Though the number of polyandrous marriage, and thereby polyandrous households, is gradually decreasing, yet a considerable number of such unions and thereby households, are present in Kinnaur" (Raha : 1975). Due to the presence of polyandry in this district a woman may have two or more husbands who are brothers. Further in the polyandrous households sometimes, the existence of polygyny can also be traced, and the polygynous marriage in the polyandrous households leads to the formation of polygynandrous households. In connection with such union, Majumdar writes, "In principal and in practice, all the brothers form an inseparable group as fraternal husbands' in the name of eldest brother. The wives, on the other hand, join the union individually one after another, in the same way as is usually found in the polygynous systems, except that the single husband is substituted by the polyandrous group of husbands" (1963 : 72). Saxena also found in Jaunsar-Bawar Uttar Pradesh that

the 'brothers may have one wife among them or they may have two or three wives, or even more in common' which according to him leads towards a peculiar combination of polyandry and polygyny (1962 : 21). In Kinnaur also we get such peculiar combination. Here also in the so called polyandrous-polygynandrous households two or more brothers may have one wife or more. In Table 41 we have tried to show the combination of such husband/husbands and wife/wives in the three villages studied from the three zones.

When we account for the husband-wife combination in the Kinnaurese households of all zones (Table 41), we see that though in majority of the cases (55.40%) the combinations are with one husband—one wife, *i.e.*, nuclear combinations, but in a considerable number of cases the combination is polyandrous-polygyandrous, *i.e.*, more than one husband share one wife or more jointly. There are 29.49% of such cases. Moreover, in 12.59% cases though the present combination is with single-husband-single wife basis, yet earlier they had polyandrous base. Due to the death or separation or migration of the husband-brothers, the polyandrous-polygynandrous combinations splitted or reduced into nuclear ones.

Similarly, among the ethnic groups of all villages put together we find that the nuclear combination, *i.e.*, one husband-one wife, is definitely a predominant one. The Rajput and the Koli cover more than half while among the other ethnic groups, little less than half. But in all these ethnic groups, the polyandrous-polygynandrous combination of the husbands and the wives do definitely have significant frequency, (Rajput having 29.64%, the Koli with 30.88% and the other ethnic groups with 18.18%).

When we come to the village level, we see the significance of the polyandrous-polygynandrous combinations of the husbands and the wives. At Chango while nuclear combination of the husband and the wife among 'All ethnic groups', the Rajput and the Koli also covers the majority, yet the polyandrous-polygynandrous combination of the husbands and the wives is very significant. It is 28.57% among 'All ethnic groups', 27.92% among the Rajput, 30.00% among the Koli and 40.00% among the other ethnic groups. The present nuclear combinations with previous polyandrous-polygynandrous base have also important positions.

Among the inhabitants of Kongos village, though the majority of the combinations are with nuclear base, but in 28.82% cases these are with polyandrous-polygynandrous style. The frequency of the latter combination is 22.50% among the Rajput and 36.11% among the Koli, the other ethnic groups do not have at present, any polyandrous-polygynandrous combinations, but 50.00% of their husbands-wife combinations had polyandrous-polygynandrous base.

At Rogi village, also we see the prominence of the nuclear combination of the husband and the wife. But here also the polyandrous-polygynandrous combinations have very significant position. Among All Ethnic

Groups, 31.96% have polyandrous-polygynandrous base while among the Rajput, it is 37.50% and among the Koli 22.72%. Among the other ethnic groups all the combinations are of nuclear type.

From the above discussion, it is clear that the polyandrous-polygynandrous combinations of the husbands and wives is the highest at Rogi village (31.96%) and the lowest in Chango (28.57%), Kongos has slightly higher than that of Chango.

If the different ethnic groups of the different villages are compared, it is seen that Rogi has the highest frequency of polyandrous-polygynandrous combinations of the husbands and the wives while Kongos has the lowest. On the other hand, this combination among the Koli has the highest frequency at Kongos and the lowest at Rogi. Among the other ethnic groups, this combination is only present at Chango.

So from the above discussion, it is apparent that the polyandrous base in Kinnaurese society is still quite strong. It is seen that at present the polyandrous-polygynandrous traits are more in Zone II and Zone III in comparison to Zone I though the Hindu influence is more in the former two Zones while that of Buddhism is more in Zone I.

These will further be cleared when we examine such combinations in three other villages under the above three zones (Namgia in Zone I, Sungra in Zone II and Duni in Zone III).

From Table 42, it is seen that out of the total 226 unions of the three villages from all three zones, 22.56% are polyandrous-polygynandrous, where two or more husband-brothers share one or more wives in common (Raha : 1975). Besides 31.42% of the unions which are now of nuclear type, had polyandrous-polygynandrous base. Due to the above stated reasons those polyandrous-polygynandrous households once formed out of polyandrous-polygynandrous union, have become nuclear ones.

On the other hand, if a comparison is made on the polyandrous-polygynandrous unions as present in all the three zones, it appears that Zone III has the highest number of polyandrous-polygynandrous unions (29.23%) followed by zone II (20.88%). Zone I has the lowest frequency (17.40%). The frequency of polyandrous-polygynandrous unions turned into the nuclear ones, is also the highest in Zone III and the lowest in Zone I.

Laws of inheritance

Among the Kinnaurese, all the belongings of an individual, including the land and the house, which he either acquired by himself or got from somebody or from his ancestors, are considered as his property. In this society the property, both movable and immovable, were owned by men and also inherited by men. The women were barred from receiving the property except in some exceptional cases. This same tradition is still continuous. This is because of the fact that men always head a house-

TABLE 42. Nature and distribution of husband and wife combinations in different culture zones in Kinnaur

Hu-Wi Combination in the Household	ZONE I		ZONE II		ZONE III		TOTAL	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Hu ₁ + Wi ₁	84	63.04	49	42.61	22	33.85	100	44.25
Hu ₂ + Wi ₁	4	8.70	11	9.57	10	15.38	25	11.06
Hu _n + Wi ₁	4	8.70	9	7.83	4	6.15	17	7.52
Hu ₁ + Wi ₂	1	2.17	2	1.74	1	1.54	4	1.77
Hu ₁ + Wi _n	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Hu ₂ + Wi ₂	—	—	1	0.87	2	3.08	3	1.33
Hu ₂ + Wi _n	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Hu _n + Wi ₂	—	—	3	2.61	1	1.54	4	1.77
Hu _n + Wi _n	—	—	—	—	2	3.08	2	0.88
Hu ₁ + Wi ₁	8	17.39	40	34.78	23	35.38	71	31.42
(Previously Polyandrous)								
Total	101	100.00	115	100.00	65	100.00	226	100.00

hold. After the death of the eldest son, the next elder son becomes the head of the household, *i.e.*, after the death of the eldest brother, next brother becomes head of the households, and accordingly becomes the owner of the movable and immovable property.

Sen referring Frankie (1906 : 239f) mentions that "It was the practice that the land of the individual household could not be sub-divided or merged. It could only be transmitted by inheritance and the legal owner of the landed property, and the dwelling house was the eldest son. The eldest son was liable to pay tax and manage household affairs. The second son was to join the monastery to become a monk. The other sons of the family were given a choice either to stay in the eldest brother's family or join a monastery" (1970 : 89-90).

In polyandrous Kinnaur, the rules of inheritance, as mentioned in the Gazetteer of Bushahr 1910, are somewhat different. It states, "Division of property among a polyandric group follows the rule of *jathong* and *kanchhong*, which is applied throughout the hills to inheritance and partition. *Jathong* means the right of the elder, and *kanchhong* the right of the youngest. Before partition takes place, a good field is given to the eldest brother and the ancestral house to the younger. The rest of the property is then divided in equal shares. The custom is probably attributable to an idea that the youngest son is too young to find a new home for himself, and that the eldest son is entitled to some recognition of his seniority" (1911 : 16).

Further, inheritance in the hills goes *per stirpes* and not *per capita*, and in every case the right of children born from a regular *biah* marriage is considered superior to that of all others. A well-to-do man may have four kinds of children, (i) by a formally married wife; (ii) by a *jhajra* or *gadar* wife and (iii) *sarteras i.e.* by an irregular marriage with a woman of a caste lower than that of his own; (iv) *Jata*, *i.e.*, children by a purely adulterous connection. On his death the first class children get in some places one half and in some places two third of the property. The remainder is divided among the other children in shares fixed by the members of the father's brotherhood. The *Jata* as a rule become servants to the rest of the family. If it is desired to divide the share of any group of children this is done by the rule of *Jathong* and *Kanchhong* described above.

In olden days, the last wishes of a man expressed before his death, were almost binding to the family members. The last wishes are called *tonglong*. At the time of death if the dying man expressed the desire that a part of property should be given to a certain individual then that desire was usually honoured.

But deviation from the rule of primogeniture was also observed in some parts of Kinnaur. Here at the death of the father (in case of a nuclear household) or fathers (in case of polyandrous and polygynandrous household) the eldest son inherited a large share of land but the dwelling house and a plot of land were inherited by the youngest

son. The rest of the landed property was shared by the other sons.

But the inheritance system as outlined in the *Wazib-ul-Arz* (Record of the Succession Rights) is slightly different from that described above. The rules as laid down in the *Wazib-ul-Arz* are also considered as the traditional rule of inheritance. The following are the rules as prescribed in the said record.

- 1 If widow has no child, she is the rightful inheritor of her husbands movable and immovable property. She shall have this right so long as she survives or remarries. She will not have the right to sell or mortgage the property. If there is an emergent need, she will have to get the permission for sale or mortgage from the inheritor next in order.

If the widow herself does not want to keep under her occupations the property, then inheritor next in order, will have the right of occupation of the said property while the widow will have the right to demand maintenance. She will have all right over any property acquired by herself.

- 2 If the widow has her male children from the husband owning the property then those male children will have equal share on the property.
- 3 If a deceased person has got more than one widow then the male children of all the widows have equal share on the paternal property.
- 4 If children are born of a woman with whom the deceased had relationship without proper marriage but could have married her under social laws, then such children will also have equal rights over the property of the deceased.
- 5 If children are born of a woman with whom the deceased had a relationship but had not actually married and also could not marry her under the social laws, such children will have no right over the property of the deceased.
- 6 If the son is born from the *goli* or *khanjak* relation, then that son called *zatu* (see kinship system) will not have the right over the paternal property, he will have right to demand maintenance only.
- 7 If more than one brother have a common wife, then the children born of the woman, will be treated as the children of the brother who dies last.

For example A, B and C are three brothers having a common wife. A dies then B and C will have equal right over the whole property. Again if C dies then B will be the sole inheritor of the property. After the death of B, the male children, will be the equal inheritors and they will be treated as the children of the brother who died last.

8. If a man has more than one wife and if one of the wives has received

- some land as dowry, then the male children born from that woman, will only have the right over that land.
- 9 A daughter will have no right over the property along with her brothers, in any case.
 - 10 If a man does not have any male child, he can transfer his property to his daughter/daughters by making a will while he is living. But a widow cannot do it till she gets the permission from the legal authorities.
 - 11 Whether a man owning some property has male children or no male children, he has the right to give his property to his daughter or son-in-law or adopted child (male) by making a will or *hibba*. He can give away the property in the way of charity or gift but that has to be registered.
 - 12 If the owner of the property dies without making *hibba* deed in writing then the daughters and son-in-law and their male children though enjoying property, will not be considered legally the rightful owners. Their occupation of the property will give them no right of ownership automatically till the legal authorities decide in their favour.
 - 13 If the daughter or her husband inherits a man's property legally, and if they died without male child, in that case the property will not be inherited by the nearest kin of the son-in-law but will be vested back to the nearest kin of the man.
 - 14 If the owner of the property has passed on the property to his son or daughter by making a *hibba* deed, then during his life time, he cannot take the property back. He can do it only he has made such condition in the *hibba* deed.
 - 15 If any person dies without having a male child and has only daughters, then these daughters will be the owners of the land till they get married. They cannot transfer the land by *hibba*, by *nama* or by *rahan*. After their marriage, property right will vest with the nearest male kin of their father.

KINSHIP AND LINEAGE

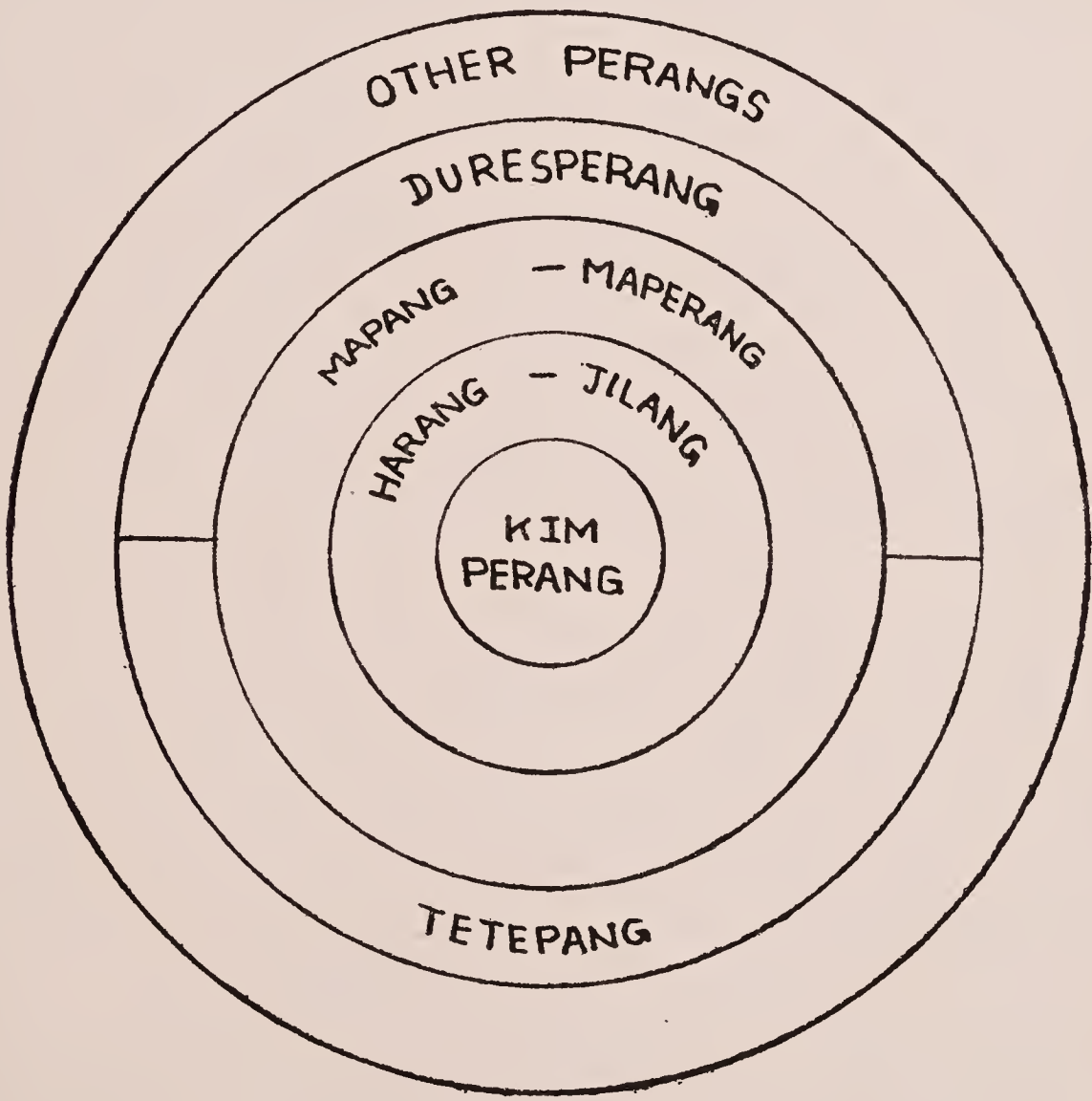
Perang system

The Kinnaurese households belong to different lineages or *khandan* who draw their descent from a common root or ancestry called *jillang*. The persons or individuals who trace their relation from the common *jillang* are considered related to one another. The relationship or kinship among the Kinnaurese is generally established either through blood or through marriage, and so the Kinnaurese have different type of relatives or kins. The common term for relatives or kins in Kinnauri language

is *perang*. The members of a household or family (*kim* ; *kim* also means house) are called *kimperang*. In a *kim* or household the members trace relationship with different kin groups either through father or through mother or through father's mother or through wife or through some other relatives. When the relationship is drawn through father it is called *harang rista*, and the relatives through father are called *harang* (haar=bone). But when the relationship is drawn through mother it is called *mullens rista* (The word *mullens* comes from the term *muma*, i.e., mother's brother) and the mother's relatives are known as *maperang/mapang*. There is a strong belief among the Kinnaurese that a man gets his bone from father but blood from mother.

When the relationship is traced through wife it is called *durayamang* and the wife's relatives are called *duresperang*. The Kinnaurese term the relatives from father's mother as *teteperang/tetepang*.

PERANG-SYSTEM



perang (relatives)

<i>harang</i>	<i>maperang</i>	<i>duresperang</i>	<i>teteperang</i>	<i>chhadperang</i>	<i>shakpoperang</i>
(Thru	(Thru	(Thru Wi)	(Thru	(Thru	(Thru
Fa)	Mo)		FaMo)	DaHu)	SiHu)

The relatives of the daughter's husband are called *chhadperang*. The Kinnaurese term for the relatives of the sister's husband is *shakpoperang*.

Terminologies

In Kinnaur, with the linguistic and cultural variations from region to region the kinship terminologies of the Kinnaurese also vary. Often it is seen that terms are different in different zones. Particularly the terms in the areas with the influence of Buddhism are different from the areas covered by the Hinduism. As a result, identical terms in all the three culture zones (Zone I, II & III) are only a few. Only two terms, *sakpo* referring WiBr and SiHu (ms) and *baisa* the term for WiSi and SiHu (ws) are common in all the three zones. But most of the terms are different.

A matter of further importance is that most of the terms are common in Zone II and III but these are different in Zone I.

Thus it is clear that in Kinnaur there are three sets of kinship nomenclatures. The terms in the first set are similar in all the three zones; in the second set terms are similar in the two zones (Zone II and III) but different in the other (Zone I) and the terms of the third set are different in all the three zones. We have already mentioned the terms belonging to first set. Most of the terms belong to second set. For example, the term for FaFa and his siblings (*tete*) in ego's second ascending generation is similar in both Zone II and III, but different (*meme*) in Zone I. Similarly, the term for FaElSiHu, FaYoSiHu and MoBr in Zone II and III is *mama* but it is *ajong* in Zone I. Mother of both husband and wife is *eume* in Zone II and III but *anne* in Zone I. In ego's generation, the term for ElBr (ms), ElBr (ws), MoElBrSo, WiElSiHu, HuElSiHu, SoWiFa and DaHuFa is *aate*, it is *aaju* in Zone I. In the same way in the ego's first descending generation, the term for Da, ElBrDa (ms) YoBrDa (ms) ElSiDa (ws), YoSiDa (ws), WiElSiDa, WiYoSiDa, HuElBrDa, and HuYoBrDa, is *chime* in both Zone II and III, but *pomo* in Zone I. In ego's second descending generation, while the term *spach* is used for SoSo, DaSo, SoDa and DaDa, in Zone II & III it is *chhao* and *chhammo* for SoSo, DaSo and SoDa and DaDa respectively in Zone I.

In the third set only, a few terms are found. They are different in all the three zones. In ego's second ascending generation, the term for FaMo and her siblings is different in all the three zones. In Zone I it is *aabi*, in Zone II, *aayee* and in Zone III it is *togo*. The term for FaElSi, FaYoSi and MoBrWi in the ego's first ascending generation, is *anne* in Zone I, *nei* in Zone II and *nane* in Zone III. In ego's generation, the term for MoElSiSo in Zone I is *aaju*, it is *aate* in Zone II but *maosre* in Zone III. Similarly in Zone I the term for the YoBr (ms and ws) is *noh*, it is *baich* in Zone II and *aate* in Zone III.

The Kinnaurese have both denotative and classificatory terms. Only most of the terms are classificatory except a few which are denotative in nature. Denotative terms in ego's first, second or other ascending

generations are non-existent. In ego's generation, a few denotative terms are used for some particular relatives only. In Zone II and III the term *dach* is meant for husband only while in Zone I it is *mymin*. The term for wife is denotative only in Zone II and III and it is *gone* (*naar* is also used in some villages of Zone II), but in Zone I it is *chhamo*, a classificatory one. No other term in ego's generation is denotative in nature. In the first descending generation of the ego, there are only two relations who are identified by the denotative terms. They are DaHu and SoWi. In Zone I, the terms for these two kins are *makpa* and *nama* respectively while in Zone II and III they are identified by *chad* and *stem* respectively.

In cases of the classificatory terms, two or more relatives of the same or of different generations are referred to by a single term. In the fourth ascending generation of the ego, the FaFaFaFa and his siblings have a common term *meme* in Zone I, *tete* in Zone II and *pitete* in Zone III. The same terms, *meme* of Zone I and *tete* in Zone II refer many other relatives of the ego, such as FaFaFa, FaMoFa, MoMoFa and MoFaFa and their siblings in the third ascending generations and FaFa, MoFa and their siblings in the second ascending generations. But in Zone III the same kinsmen have distinct term for each generation. Here, the above relatives of ego's fourth ascending generation are referred to as *pitete* and the term for the relatives mentioned above belonging to the third ascending generation from the ego, is *kotete*. In ego's second ascending generation, we find two distinct terms to indicate FaFa and his siblings (*tete*) MoFa and his siblings (*mapotete*). Similarly, the term *aabi* in Zone I and *aayee* in Zone II includes FaFaFaMo and her siblings, FaFaMo, FaMoMo, MoMoMo MoFaMo and their respective siblings, FaMo MoMo and their respective siblings. That means in these two zones a single term indicates a number of relatives belonging to three different generations. But that is not so in Zone III. For the same relatives belonging to three different generations, three different terms are used. *Pitego* refers the said relatives belonging to ego's fourth ascending generation, *kotego* for the third ascending and *tego* (FaMo and his siblings) and *mapotego* or *aapi* (MoMo and her siblings) for the second ascending generation. The term *bau* (Zone II) or *bubba* (Zone III) includes the relatives like Fa, FaElBr, FaYoBr, MoElSiHu and MoYoSiHu. In Zone I there are two terms for them. *Aao* (Zone III) refer not only Mo but also MoElSi and MoYoSi. In the same way *anne* (Zone I), *nei* (Zone I) and *nane* (Zone III) are the terms for the FaElSi, FaYoSi, and MoBrWi; and the term *aajong* (Zone I) and *mama* (Zone II & III) cover FaElSiHu, FaYoSiHu and MoBr. Mother of both husband and wife is called *eume*. Again in ego's generation the term *aate* (for Zone II and III) and *aaju* (Zone I) include a number of relations such as ElBr (ms), ElBr (Ws), MoElBrSo, WiElSiHu, HuElSiHu, SoWiFa and DaHuFa. In the same way, relations like ElSi (ms), ElSi (ws), FaElSiDa, MoElBrDa, HuElBrWi and WiElBrWi are grouped under

a single term of *aaji* (Zone I), *dai/dao* (Zone II) or *dao* (Zone III). Again the term *nomo* in Zone I includes YoSi (ms), YoSi (ws), MoSiYoDa, MoYoBrDa, FaYoSiDa, HuYoBrWi and WiYoBrWi on the other hand the term *Baich* in Zone I and II covers all the relations mentioned above including FaYoBrDa except YoSi (ms & ws).

In the first descending generation classificatory terms are found to prevail. The term, *tuyu* (Zone I) and *chhang* (Zone II & III) includes so, ElBrSo (ms), ElSiSo (ws), YoSiSo (ws), WiElSiSo, WiYoSiSo, HuElBrSo and HuYoBrSo. Similarly, the term *chime* in Both Zone II and III, identifies Da, ElBrDa (ms), YoBrDa (ms), ElSiDa (ws), YoSiDa (ws), WiElSiDa, WoYoSiDa, HuElBrDa and HuYoBrDa. The same relatives also have a common term (*pomo*) in Zone I, but besides the above relatives, it includes FaElBrDa, FaYoBrDa, ElBrDa (ws), HuElSiDa, HuYoSiDa, WiElBrDa and WiYoBrDa too. In the second descending generation the term, *chhao* (Zone I) indicates not only SoSo and DaSo, but also ElBrSo (ws), YoBrSo (ws), HuElSiSo, HuYoSiSo, ElSiSo (ms), YoSiSo (ms), WiElBrSo, WiYoBrSo, FaElSiSo and FaYoSiSo. But in Zone II and III the term (*spach*), which refers SoSo and DaSo only, covers SoDa and DaDa. No other relative is called by this term.

Second, third and fourth ascending generations

Some peculiarity in the kinship terminologies can be traced in the second, third and the fourth ascending generations from ego. While in Zone I the same term denotes the relatives of the same sex in these three different generations (e.g., the term *Meme* indicates FaFaFaFa, FaFaFa, FaMoFa, MoMoFa, MoFaFa, FaFa, MoFa and their respective siblings) in Zone III the terms for the relatives of the third and fourth ascending generations are distinguished by prefixing some words before the term of the relatives of the second ascending generation. As for example, the term *tete* for the male relatives of the second ascending generation, such as FaFa, and his sibling, has been prefixed with *ko* (i.e., *kotete*) in the third ascending generation to indicate relatives like FaFaFa, FaMoFa, MoMoFa, MoFaFa and their respective siblings. Similarly to indicate male relatives of the fourth ascending generation such as FaFaFaFa and MoMoMoFa and some such relatives *tete* has become *pitete*. In the same way, in case of the female relatives like FaMo and her sibling, the term is *tego* with which the word *ko* has been prefixed in the third ascending generation to denote the relatives like FaFaMo, FaMoMo, MoMoMo, MoFaMo and their respective siblings and the word *pi* prefixed with *tego* in the fourth ascending generation to refer the relatives like FaFaFaMo, MoMoMoMo and some other relatives and their siblings. The exceptions of this rule is found in case of MoFa and his brother and MoMo and her sister where some separate terms (*Mapotete* and *Mapotego* or *aapi* respectively) are used. Similarly, sometimes the term *Koaapi* is used to indicate relatives like MoMoMo. But for

Zone II, the feature is the same as in Zone I, *i.e.*, the same term is used to refer relatives of the same sex in all these three generations, *i.e.*, *tete* and *ayee* are used to denote the male and female relatives respectively of the second, third and the fourth ascending generations.

First ascending generation

In the first ascending generation, on the other hand, the similarity in the terms in Zone II and Zone III, are found while the terms for Zone I are quite distinct from the other two zones. Both denotative and classificatory terms are found in Zone II and III, Zone I being devoid of any denotative term in this generation. While *ruh* (for HuFa) and *aapa* (for WiFa) are denotative terms in both Zone II and Zone III, in Zone I term *aajong* includes not only those relatives (HuFa and WiFa) for which *ruh* and *aapa* are used in Zone II and III, but also some others such as FaElSiHu, FaYoSiHu and MoBr. On the other hand, for the above three relatives (FaElSiHu, FaYoSiHu and MoBr) the term in Zone II and III is *mama*. Another interesting thing in these three areas, is that while in Zone I two distinct terms, *ama* and *majung* are meant for two sets of relatives, *viz.*, (i) Mo, MoElSi and (ii) FaElBrWi, FaYoBrWi and MoYoSi respectively, in Zone II and III for all these relatives one single term, *amma* or *dao* is used. Reversely, while in Zone I a common term, *anne* covers two sets of relatives such as (i) FaElSi, FaYoSi, MoBrWi and (ii) HuMo and WiMo, they are represented by different terms *nei* and *eume* respectively in Zone II and *nane* and *eume* respectively in Zone III.

Ego's generation

Ego's siblings are the most important members of this generation. As in other generations, the kinship terms of this generation also give some peculiar features. Here also both denotative and classificatory terms are available. While in Zone II and III both husband and wife have denotative term, in Zone I the term for the husband is denotative but the same for wife is classificatory. Besides the above, no other term is denotative in nature. All of them are classificatory. Three peculiar features are reflected from the analysis of the kinship terms of this generation. Firstly, only two terms are common in all the three culture zones, and secondly most of the terms are common, in Zone II and III but absolutely distinct in Zone I. Thirdly, all the three zones have distinct and uncommon kinship terms. The former feature is depicted by the terms, *sakpo* and *baisa*. The former represents WiElBr, WiYoBr, ElSiHu (ms) and YoSiHu (ms) while the latter WiElSi, WiYoSi, ElSiHu, (ws) and YoSiHu (ws) respectively.

The second feature is, as said, present in most of the terms. The term *aate* which includes relative like ElBr (ms), ElBr (ws), MoElBrSo, WiElSiHu, HuElSiHu, SoWiFa and DaHuFa, is common in both Zone II and III but in Zone I the term for these relatives, is *aaju*. One peculiarity,

which needs to be disclosed, is that the term *aate* also covers some other relatives like FaElBrSo and FaElSiSo in both Zone II and III but in Zone I instead it includes MoElSiSo. The other peculiarity here is that in Zone II while *aate* in addition, includes MoElSiSo and FaYoBrSo. in Zone III, it covers YoBr (ms & ws) also. Same is the case with ElSi (ms), ElSi (ws), FaElSiDa, MoElBrDa, HuElBrWi and WiElBrWi for whom the term in Zone I is *aaji* and in Zone II and III, *dao* (in Zone II the term *dai* is also used). In Zone I the term *aaji* also includes SoWiMo, DaHuMo and MoSiElDa whereas in Zone II and III the terms *dao* refers FaElBrDa too. The only peculiarity here is that in addition, this term (*dao*) in Zone II includes MoElSiDa but Zone III covers YoSi (ms & ws) instead. In Zone II and III the term for SoWiMo and DaHuMo is *barch* which also includes HuElSi, HuYoSi, ElBrWi (ms) YoBrWi (ms), ElBrWi (ws) and YoBrWi (ws). For MoElSiDa, *dao* is the term in Zone II but but *maosri* in Zone III. On the other hand in Zone I FaElBrDa is known as *pomo*, and YoSi (ms & ws) is *noMo*. Such distinctions can be seen in some other terms also.

The third feature in the kinship term of this generation is the difference of some terms in all the three generations. Only a few terms are of this nature. For example, MoElSiSo and MoElSiDa are referred in Zone I as *aaju* and *aaji*, in Zone II they are *aate* and *dao* and in Zone III *maosre* and *maosri* respectively. Similarly, for YoBr (ms and ws) the terms *noh*, *baich* and *aate* are used in Zone I, Zone II and Zone III respectively. For FaYoSiSo the terms are different in Zone I (*baya*), Zone II (*baich*) and Zone III (*chhao*) respectively. Though for Hu and Wi *mymiin* and *chhammo* are used in Zone I and *dech* and *gone* in Zone II and Zone III respectively, yet in Zone II other distinct terms are also used. These are *chhangme* for Hu and *naar* for Wi.

First descending generation

In the first descending generation from ego, the terminologies are denotative in nature. They are *makpa* and *nama* in Zone I and *chhad* and *stem* in Zone II and III referring DaHu and SoWi respectively. All other terms are classificatory in nature. For example the term *tuyu* in Zone I and *chhang* in Zone II and III include a number of relatives such as so, ElBrSo (ms), YoBr So (ms), ElSiSo (ws), YoSiSo (ws), WiElSiSo, WiYoSiSo, HuElBrSo, and HuYoBrSo. Two peculiar features are explicit from the analysis. Firstly, Zone II and III have similar and common terms for certain relative/relatives, Zone I shows distinct terminology for the same. For example, the term *banau* in Zone II and III includes ElBrSo (ws), YoBrSo (ws), HuElSiSo, HuYoSiSo, ElBrDa (ws), YoBrDa (ws), HuElSiDa and HuYoSiDa. But in Zone I two different terms are used for these relatives. *Chhao* includes ElBrSo (ws), YoBrSo (ws), HuElSiSo and HuYoSiSo while *pomo* is applied for ElBrDa (ws), YoBrDa (ws) HuElSiDa and HuYoSiDa. In the same

way *bhanji* in Zone II and III includes *ElSiDa* (ms), *YoSiDa*, *WiElBrDa* and *WiYoBrDa* but in Zone I two terms, *Chhammo* for *ElSiDa* (ws) and *YoSiDa* (ws) and *pomo* for *WiElBrDa* and *WiYoBrDa* are used.

The other feature, which is peculiar only to Zone I is that there are terms, which refer to the relatives of both the upper and lower generation. For example, the term *Chhammo* which includes some relatives from the ego's generation like *Wi*, *HuElSi*, *HuYoSi*, *ElBrWi* (ms & ws), *YoBrWi* (ms & ws), some from first descending generation from the ego, e.g., *ElSiDa* (ms) and *YoSiDa* (ws) and also kins from the second descending generation from the ego, viz, *SoDa* and *DaDa*.

Second descending generation

This generation includes children of ego's son and daughter, and of ego's sibling's son and daughter. While there is no sex distinction in Zone II and III, i.e., same term (*spach*) used for the children of both the sexes of ego's son and daughter and of ego's son and daughter, in Zone I two distinct terms (*chhao* and *chhammo*) are used to distinguish between the male child and the female child of ego's son and daughter and of ego's sibling's son and daughter.

Besides the generational characteristics, the Kinnaurese kinship terms also show other distinct features. In the following pages, we have analysed the terms on the basis of various criteria of distinction following Redcliffe Brown (1965) and Murdock (1961).

CRITERIA OF DISTINCTION

Sex

The criterion of sex distinction is clearly reflected in the terminologies of the Kinnaurese. Though most of the terms in all the three zones are used for the relatives of the same sex, there are a few which are common to the members of both the sexes. For example, terms *meme*, *tete* and *pitete* in Zone I, II and III respectively refer *FaFaFaFa* and his siblings, but for *FaFaFaMo* and her siblings different terms are used in all the three zones, *aabi* for Zone I, *ayee* for Zone II and *pitego* for Zone III. While *MoFa* and his siblings are *meme* in Zone I, *tete* in Zone II and *mapotete* in Zone III their respective spouses are *aabi* in Zone I, *aaye* in Zone II and *mapotego* or *aapi* in Zone III. Similarly *Fa*, is *aaba* (in Zone I) or *bau* (Zone II and III) but *Mo* is *amma* in Zone I *dao* in Zone II or both the terms in Zone III. In the same way, while husband is *mymiin* in Zone I and *dach* in Zone II and III, wife is *chhammo* in Zone I and *gone* in Zone II and III. While the father of son's wife and daughter's husband are *aaju* in Zone I or *aate* in Zone II and III, their consorts are

aaji in Zone I and *bareh* in Zone II and III. In the first descending generation of ego, while son is *tuyu* in Zone I and *chhang* in Zone II and III, daughter is *pomo* in Zone I and *chime* in Zone II and III.

In some cases members of both the sexes are referred to by the same term. In all the three culture zones the term *baisa* indicates relatives of both the sexes, *WiElSi*, *WiYoSi*, *ElSiHu* (ws) and *YoSiHu* (ws). In Zone II and III the term *banuch* covers relatives of both the sexes such as *ElBrSo* (ws), *YoBrSo* (ws), *HuElSiSo*, *HuYoSiSo*, *ElBrDa* (ws), *YoBrDa* (ws), *HuElSiDa* and *HuYoSiDa*. Again in the same zones *SoSo*, *DaSo*, *SoDa* and *DaDa* are called by *spach*, the term different for different sexes in Zone I. On the other hand, in Zone II the term for *YoBr* (ms & ws) and *YoSi* (ms & ws) is *baich* but in Zone I & III the term is different for these two relatives. Similarity of the term of these two relatives is also found in some parts of Zone III.

Generation

The peculiarity of the Kinnaurese kinship terms is that there are some terms which refer to relatives of the one generation only whereas some others specify those of different generations. *Aaba* (Zone I) or *bau* (Zone II & III) is the term for *Fa*, *FaElBr* and *FaYoBr* all of whom belong to the same generation. Similarly *MoYoSi*, *FaElBrWi* and *FaYoBrWi* who are in the same first ascending generation are either *mejung* (Zone I) or *aao* (Zone II & III). Similarly the mother of both husband and wife is *anne* (Zone I) or *eume* (Zone II & III).

In the ego's generation also several relatives have common term. In Zone I, *aaju* and in Zone II and III *aate* include *ElBr* (ms), *ElBr* (ws), *MoElBrSo*, *WiElSiHu*, *HuElSiHu*, *SoWiFa* and *DaHuFa*, all of whom are in the same generation level. In the same way *MoYoSiDa*, *MoYoBrDa*, *FaYoSiDa*, *Da*, *HuYoBrWi* and *WiYoBrWi* who belong to the same generation level are termed by *momo* (Zone I) or *baich* (Zone II & III). *sakpo* is the term for *WiElBr*, *WiYoBr*, *ElSiHu* (ms) and *YoSiHu* (ms) in all the three zones.

In ego's first descending generation only Zone II and III are governed by this rule of generation differentiation. Zone III does not show any respect for this rule.

In Zone II and III, so *ElBrSo* (ms), *YoBrSo* (ms), *ElSiSo* (ws), *YoSiSo* (ws), *WiElSiSo*, *WiYoSiSo*, *HuElBrSo* and *HuYoBrSo* are termed by a single term, *chhang*. Similarly, *Da*, *ElBrDa* (ms), *YoBrDa* (ms), *ElSiDa* (ws), *YoSiDa* (ws), *WiElSiDa*, *WiYoSiDa*, *HuElBrDa* and *HuYoBrDa* who belong to ego's first descending generation, have common term *chime*. In the same way the term *banuch* includes relatives like *ElBrSo* (ws), *YoBrSo* (ws), *HuElSiSo*, *HuYoSiSo*, *ElBrDa* (ws), *YoBrDa* (ws), *HuElSiDa* and *HuYoSiDa*, all of whom belong to the same generation.

In the ego's second descending generation the term *spach* includes

some relations of this generation such as SoSo, SoDa, DaSo and DaDa.

As we have said in some cases this rule of generation differentiation is not obeyed. In upper generations in Zone I & II a common term covers members of several generations. The term *meme* in Zone I and *tete* in Zone II includes all male members of ego's second, third and fourth ascending generations, such as FaFa, MoFa, FaFaFa, FaMoFa, MoMoFa, MoFaFa, FaFaFaFa, MoMoMoFa and other male relatives of fourth ascending generation and the siblings of all these relatives. Similar is the case with some direct female relatives such as FaMo, MoMo, FaFaMo, FaMoMo, MoMoMo, MoFaMo, FaFaFaMo, MoMoMoMo and such other relatives of the fourth ascending generation and the siblings of all these relatives who have a common term *aaye*. But in Zone III these relatives of all these generations are distinguished by prefixing some words before a common word such as *pi* is used for fourth ascending generation *ko* for the third ascending generation and so on. Again in Zone I the term *pomo* includes some members of two generations, ego's and ego's first descending generations. These relatives are FaElBrDa and FaYoBrDa of ego's generation and Da, ElBrDa (ms), YoBrDa (ms), ElSiDa (ws), YoSiDa (ws) WiElSiDa, WiYoSiDa, HuElBrDa, HuYoBrDa, ElBrDa (ws), YoBrDa (ws), HuElSiDa, HuYoSiDa, WiElBrDa and WiYoBrDa. But the term *chhammo* covers the relatives such as HuElSi, HuYoSi, ElBrWi (ms) YoBrWi (ms), ElBrWi (ms) and YoBrWi (ws) in ego's generation, ElSiDa (ms) and YoSiDa (ms) in ego's first descending generation and SoDa and DaDa of ego's second descending generation. In a similar way *chhao* covers all these three generations. But in Zone II and III this is not so.

Relative age

Much value is given by the Kinnaurese to the relative age of the various kinfolk. As a result the criterion of relative age differentiation in various kinship terms is found to be prominent. They also use different words to distinguish senior or junior relatives in Zone I the word *chhibbo* is used to refer senior male relatives ; *chhippo* senior female relatives, *parba*, intermediate relatives of both the sexes, *chun* for junior male relatives and *chua* for junior female relatives. Similarly, in Zone II and III, *teg*, *majong* and *garto* are used before the term to make distinction between the senior, middle and the junior relatives. For example, father's eldest sister and mother's eldest brother's wife are *chhippo anne* (Zone I), *teg nei* (Zone II) or *teg nane* (Zone III); father's intermediate sister and mother's intermediate brother's wife are *parba anne* (Zone I), *majong* (Zone II) or *majong nane* (Zone III), and *chua anne* (Zone I), *gaato nei* (Zone II) or *gaato nane* (Zone III) is for father's youngest sister or mother's youngest brother's wife. Similarly, father's eldest sister's husband and mother's eldest brother's brother is *chhibbo aajong* in Zone I and *teg*

mama in Zone II and III. For father's intermediate sister's husband and mother's intermediate brother, the term *parba aajong* (Zone I) or *majong mama* (Zone II & III) is used and for father's youngest sister's husband or mother's youngest brother *chun aajong* or *gaato mama* is referred. In Zone III ego's second, third and fourth generations distinguished from one another by the prefixation of certain word like *pi*, *ko*, etc., such as *pitete* (FaFaFa), *kotete* (FaFaFa) while only *tete* is for FaFa.

Besides the above three status detecting words, there are some kinship terms which themselves determine the seniority of the kins. But the distinct terms present to identify the senior or junior relative in upper generations, is prevalent more in Zone III than in Zone I and II but the same for ego's generation is more in Zone I than in other two zones. In Zone I while MoElSi is *amma*, MoYoSi is *majung*. While WiElSiHu and HuElSiHu are *aaju* in Zone I and *aate* in Zone II and III. WiYoSiHu and HuYoSiHu are *Noh* in Zone I and *baye* in Zone II and III. Similarly, while *aaji* is the term for HuElBrWi and WiElBrWi in Zone II and *dao* in Zone II and III, *nomo* in Zone I and *baich* in Zone II and III are for HuYoBrWi and WiYoBrWi, while ElBr (ms & ws) is *aaji* in Zone I and *aate* in Zone II, YoBr (ms & ws) is *noh* in Zone I and *baich* in Zone II. While FaElBrSo is *aate* in Zone III, FaYoBrSo is *baya* there.

So it is clear from the analysis of the Kinnaurese kinship terms that the criterion of the relative age is in general obeyed except in certain cases, such as in grand parents generation in Zone I and II (it is obeyed in Zone III) and in the grand children's generation in all the three zones. In these cases there is no distinct kinship term to differentiate the relative age of two or more relatives.

Collaterality

The criterion of collaterality is not much distinct in the Kinnaurese kinship terms. Distinction cannot be made clearly between father and his collateral brothers and mother and her collateral sisters in all the three zones. Father and his brothers, elder and younger have common term *aou* in Zone I and *bau* in Zones II and III (In Zone II terms like *bubba* and *bapa* are also used). Similarly mother and her elder and younger sister have common term in all the three zones except in Zone I where there is a separate term for the mother's younger sister. In Zone I and II the term *amma* indicates Mo and MoElSi. The same term also indicates MoYoSi in Zone II. But for Zone I a separate term, *majung* is used for MoYoSi. Again a common term *aao* is used to refer mother and her sisters in Zone II and III.

It is quite probable that the common term for the Fa, FaElBr and FaYoBr is due to polyandry and the same for Mo, MoElSi and MoYoSi (except in Zone I where MoYoSi has different term) is due to sororal polygyny in a polyandrous family (*i.e.*, polygynandry).

Affinity

If the Kinnaurese kinship terms for the consanguineous affinal relations are analysed a dichotomy in certain terms is always noticeable. The relationship term for FaElSi, FaYoSi and MoBrWi for example can be cited. A commonness in the term for these relatives is found. In Zone I it is *anne* in Zone II *nane* and in Zone III, *nei*. Similar is the case with FaElSiHu, FaYoSiHu and MoBr for whom a common terms *aajong* in Zone I and *mama* in Zone II and III are used. Another peculiarity is found in the first ascending generation in Zone II and III where Fa, FaElBr, FaYoBr, MoElSiHu and MoYoSiHu have a common term *bau*. Similar is the case with Mo, MoElSi, MoYoSi, FaElBrWi and FaYoBrWi in the above two zones where a common term *aao* is in vogue. But dichotomy in case of these relatives is absent in Zone I where Mo and MoElSi have different terms. On the other hand for the rest of the above relatives (MoYoSi, FaElBrWi and FaYoBrWi) a common term is in use. The difference in terminology is also present in the above zone in case of the Fa, FaElBr and FaYoBr in one hand and MoElSiHu and MoYoSiHu on the other.

Dichotomy is seen in ego's generation also. Here for ElBr (ms & ws), HuElSiHu and WiElSiHu a common term, *aaju* in Zone I and *aate* in Zone II and III is in use. In the same way ElSi (ms & ws), HuElBrWi and WiElBrWi have common term (*aaji* in Zone I and *dao* in Zone II and III).

But deviation is also noticed in this regard as mentioned in some cases in Zone I. A deviation, common to all the three zones is also found. The criterion of affinity has been ignored in case of Fa and HuFa. The same is the case with the mother and the mothers-in-law.

Bifurcation

Among the inhabitants of Kinnaur district the criterion of bifurcation is observed in certain cases. The criterion is obeyed in case of FaFaFa and MoMoFa and FaMoFa and MoFaFa where a common term *meme* in Zone I, *kotete* in Zone II and *tete* in Zone III is used. Similarity of the term is also found in case of FaFaMo and MoMoMo and FaMoMo and MoFaMo but only in Zone I and III. In these two zones also for FaFa and MoFa and for FaMo and MoMo the criterion has been accepted. On the ego's generation, MoYoSiDa and FaYoSiDa have common term in all three zones. On the other hand similar term for FaYoBrDa and MoYoBrDa (*Baich*) and FaElBrSo and MoElBrSo (*aate*) is found only in Zone II and III. Ego's second descending generation also shows the identical feature in all three zones. Here the term for SoSo & DaSo are common term. SoDa and DaDa are also covered by a single term.

But deviation from this rule is also noticed. But in ego's second and third ascending generations this variation is clearly found in Zone II. In this zone FaFaMo and FaMoMo are *kotego* but MoMoMo and

MoFaMo are *koapi* while FaFa is *tete*, MoFa is *mapotete*, FaMo is *Tego*, MoMo is *mapotego* or *aapi*.

But difference is common to all three zones in ego's first ascending generation. While FaElBr and FaYoBr is *aaba* (Zone I) or *bau* (Zone II & III), MoBr is *aajong* (Zone I) or *mama* (Zone II & III). While father's sisters (elder or younger) are *anne* (Zone I), *nane* (Zone II) or *nei* (Zone III), MoElSi and MoYoSi are *aao* in Zone II and III and *amma* and *majung* respectively in Zone I. In ego's generation also the same diversity is found in case of FaElSiSo and MoElSiSo in Zone I and III where different terms are used for them. Similar is the case with FaYoSiSc and MoYoSiSo in Zone I and II. In ego's first descending generation, we find the break of this rule also. Different terms are used for BrSo (ms) and SiSo (ms), BrSo (ws), and SiSo (ws) and BrDa (ms) and SiDa (ms). But for BrDa (ws) and SiDa (ws) while Zone II, III have different term, Zone I uses a common one.

Polarity

The Kinnaurese terms in general recognise the criterion of polarity. But this recognition has not been granted for all the terms in all the zones. While this rule is followed in Zone I & III by using different terms for two brothers to denote each other, it is ignored in Zone II. Similar is the condition with two sisters in these three zones. But the criterion is totally ignored in all three zones in case of WiElBr and WiYoBr where only one term is used to denote them. Similarly, brothers of the husband, sisters of the wife, husbands of both ElSi and YoSi and in some other cases, the criterion of polarity has not been accepted.

Speaker's sex

The criterion of speaker's sex is recognised in a number of Kinnaurese kinship terminologies where as ignored by some others. The pattern is almost similar in all the three zones. The same term is used by a man and a woman for their elder brother. Similarly there is no difference in the terminology for the younger brother by the male speaker as well as by the female speaker. The same term *aaji* (Zone I) or *dao* (Zone II & III) is used for the elder sister by a man and women. A common term *hamo* (Zone I) *dao* (Zone II) or *baich* (Zone III) is used by the speaker of both the sexes. This criterion is also followed by in case of ElBrWi and YoBrWi. In the first descending generation this criterion is obeyed only in Zone I, where ElBrDa and YoBrDa have similar term by speakers of both the sexes.

But difference is also noticed in certain terms. While SiHu is *sakpo* by a male speaker, he is *baisa* by a female in all three zones. In certain cases the first descending generation also ignores this criterion while to a male speaker his brothers (elder or younger) son is *tuyu* (Zone I) or *chhang* (Zone II & III), to a female speaker her ElBrSo and YoBrSo

are *chhao* (Zone I) or *banuch* (Zone II & III). Similarly, *ElSiSo* and *YoSiSo* are *chhao* (Zone I) or *bhanja* (Zone II & III) to a male speaker but *tuyu* (Zone I) or *chhang* (Zone II & III) to a female speaker. Similar is the case with *ElSiDa* and *YoSiDa*. But in case of *ElBrDa* and *YoBrDa* the criterion has been ignore in Zone II and III.

Polyandry

The Kinship terminology of the Kinnaurese shows a clear reflection of the impact of polyandry. As in polyandry, brothers marry a common wife and a child of this union, considers all the brothers as his father or as equal to father so the term for the father and his brothers becomes the same. Here also we find that in all the three zones, the term for Fa, FaElBr and FaYoBr are same, *aaba* for Zone I and *bau* for Zone II & III. Similarly the term for Mo, FaElBrWi and FaYoBrWi should be common. But this rule is applicable only in Zone II and III where a common term *aao* is used. In a similar way a common term is used for So, ElBrSo (ms) and YoBrSo (ms) and also for Da, ElBrDa (ms) and YoBrDa (ms) and so on.

But the impact of polyandry on the kinship is not visible in certain terms which ought to have some commonness. Thus in Zone I there are different terms for Mo and FaElBrWi and FaYoBrWi. Similarly in all three zones, different terms are used for Hu, HuElBr.

From the above discussion, it is clear that the Kinnaurese kinship terms show that the three cultural divisions of Kinnaur based on religion, bear distinctiveness in some of their terminologies. While some of the terms are common throughout Kinnaur, some others are different in different cultural zones. Again while Zone II and III reflect some commonness in many of the terms, these are quite different in Zone I. Reversely, a few terms are common in Zone I and II but different in Zone III. Further the kinship terms all over Kinnaur are distinctly classificatory barring a few which are denotative in nature. Different Kinnaurese kinship terminologies have been found to obey various criteria of distinction while some go against these rules. Another interesting feature is the impact of polyandry in kinship terms of the Kinnaurese. Some terms follow the rules of polyandry. But the use of different terms for the Hu and HuElBr should that polyandry is gradually on the wane.

Kinship usages avoidance

Total avoidance between two or more relatives in Kinnaura society is lacking. But partial avoidance as practised by some relatives amongst them is, of course, prevalent. Such partial avoidance is present between father-in-law and daughter-in-law. The son-in-law and the mother-in-law also practise such partial avoidance. Those relatives who practise such partial avoidance, usually do not sit together on the same seat, sleep together on the same bed and observe some such prohibitions. Any

sort of sex relation and joking relation between these relatives, who practise partial avoidance between them, are strictly prohibited.

Name taboo

The daughter-in-law refrains from uttering the names of her parents-in-law. Similarly, the son-in-law does not call his parents-in-law by name. Further, a woman does not call her husband/husbands by name.

Joking relationship

Joking relationship is present among different relatives. The grandparents cut jokes with the grand-children. Joking relationship also exists between a man and his wife's sister, particularly the younger. The same relationship is also present between the brothers and sisters particularly when they are young.

Teknonymy

Though in most part of Kinnaur different terms are used to indicate the husband and the wife and in some parts the same terms are uttered to refer both, but particularly, in the Hinduized areas, the husband and the wife do not utter each other's name nor they refer the terms used for each of them particularly before some elderly persons. Instead, the husband refer his wife as the mother of so and so (name of his child). In an identical way the wife refers her husband as the father of so and so (name of the child). This is because of the existence of the partial name taboo.

Ceremonial friendship

Like many other tribal people of India, the Kinnaurese also have the ceremonial friendship. This type of friendship exists between two men or between two women. When it is between a man and a woman it is called *jokheya*, but when it is between two women it is called *konech*. But ceremonial friendship between a boy and a girl is non-existent. Usually the practise of the ceremonial friendship is present among the young people. Similarly, it is more among men than among women. During the performance of this ceremony an auspicious date is selected after consulting *deity* or *kunji* (Hindu almanac) or *jantri* (Tibetan almanac). On this auspicious day the garland of dry fruits which are to be exchanged by the two persons entering into such bond, are made by the family members of these two persons. A good number of such garlands are made and various dry fruits like dry *chilgoza*, almond, nut, plum, etc are used. This garland of fruit is known as *jokheya un* in case of *jokheya* ceremony and *konech un* in *konech*. As the ceremony starts, the two persons entering into such bond, stand facing each other and then garland each other. The assembled elderly persons are also garlanded by them.

Then the two persons entered into this ceremonial friendship ties, exchange food and home-brewn wine (*ghanti*). No worship of any diety takes place nor any *lama* or *Brahmin* is called for presiding over the ceremony. Sometimes, a feast is given to the assembled persons but *chhang* or *ghanti* is definitely served to the assembled persons.

When a person becomes the ceremonial friend of the other, the latter's relatives become his ceremonial relatives. He looks at them as his own relatives. Same kinship term as used for a particular relative of his own is also used for that particular kin of the ceremonial friend. For example, he calls the mother of this ceremonial friend as *amma*, the same term he uses for his own mother. The close relatives of these two ceremonial friends usually abstain from marrying among them. A man, on the other hand, helps his ceremonial friend when the latter is in need. Identically he also seeks help from his ceremonial friends when he requires help and assistance.

Adopted son and daughter

As in other societies of India, the societies in the Himalaya also sanctions the system of adoption. Here only the childless parents may adopt a boy or a girl, but more frequently a boy. The adopted son is known as *dharambeta* and the adopted daughter *dharambeti*. Although there is a bar regarding the adoption in any ethnic group and status group, in case of adopted son or daughter, but there is no bar on *khandan*. That means a Rajput must not adopt a boy or a girl belonging to non-Rajput group. Further among the Rajput also an *orang* should adopt an *orang* child, *maorang*, a *moarang* child and a *waza*, a *waza* child. A Rajput adopting a non-Rajput child or an *orang* a non-*orang* is always condemned. But the child may belong to any *khandan*. Though there is the superiority among the *khandan*, but there is no prohibition for adopting a child from an inferior *khandan*. Parents of superior *khandan* may adopt a child having inferior *khandan*, but usually a child from the superior *khandan*, particularly from the same *khandan* is usually preferred.

On the day for this occasion which is fixed by the *lama* (In Zone II instead of *lama* either by the Brahman from Sakaran area or by the *grokch* of the temple) the relatives and friends and *padesa* (neighbours) and also those with whom there is *binana* relation, are invited to participate. The worship of the household deity (*kimsu*) is celebrated by priest (*lama*, Brahman or *grokch* as the case may be). Sacrifice though not essential, is sometimes made soliciting the blessing of the deity.

In case of adopted child the change of *khandan* after adoption is not essential. The adopted child may retain his/her original paternal *khandan*, and for this reason the Kinnaurese like to adopt a child belonging to his own *khandan*.

During the worship of *kimsu*, the adoptive parents, the original parents and the adopted child sit near the place of worship. An agreement is

made between the adoptive parents and the adopted child (his original parent plead for him) regarding the property. By this agreement the adopted child gets a share of the property of his adoptive parents but after being adopted he loses the claim over the property of his original parents (actually the parents who give his child to other for adoption are usually poor and have more than one child). As the ceremony is over, the adopted child starts living with his adoptive parents.

Ceremonial brothers and sisters

The ceremonial brother and sisterhood is present among the Kinnaurese. The ceremonial brother is known as *kokheya* or *dharambhai* and the ceremonial sister is *rinkchje* or *dharambahin*. Through a small ceremony, the ceremonial brother or sister is recognised. The ceremonial brother or sister can not be of the same *khandan* with the man who takes him or her as his ceremonial brother or sister, but may be of the same ethnic group or status group. Sometimes, this ritual kinship is extended to some other ethnic groups, even the same ethnic group living in different district, but of course, not with the Scheduled Castes.

During one's distress, one's *dokheya* or *rinkchje* comes forward to help one. In spite of the existence of such co-operative and symbiotic attitude, the ceremonial brother or sister does not have any claim on the property of his or her ceremonial brother or sister. Usually no marriage takes place in the two households entered into the ritual brother or sisterhood.

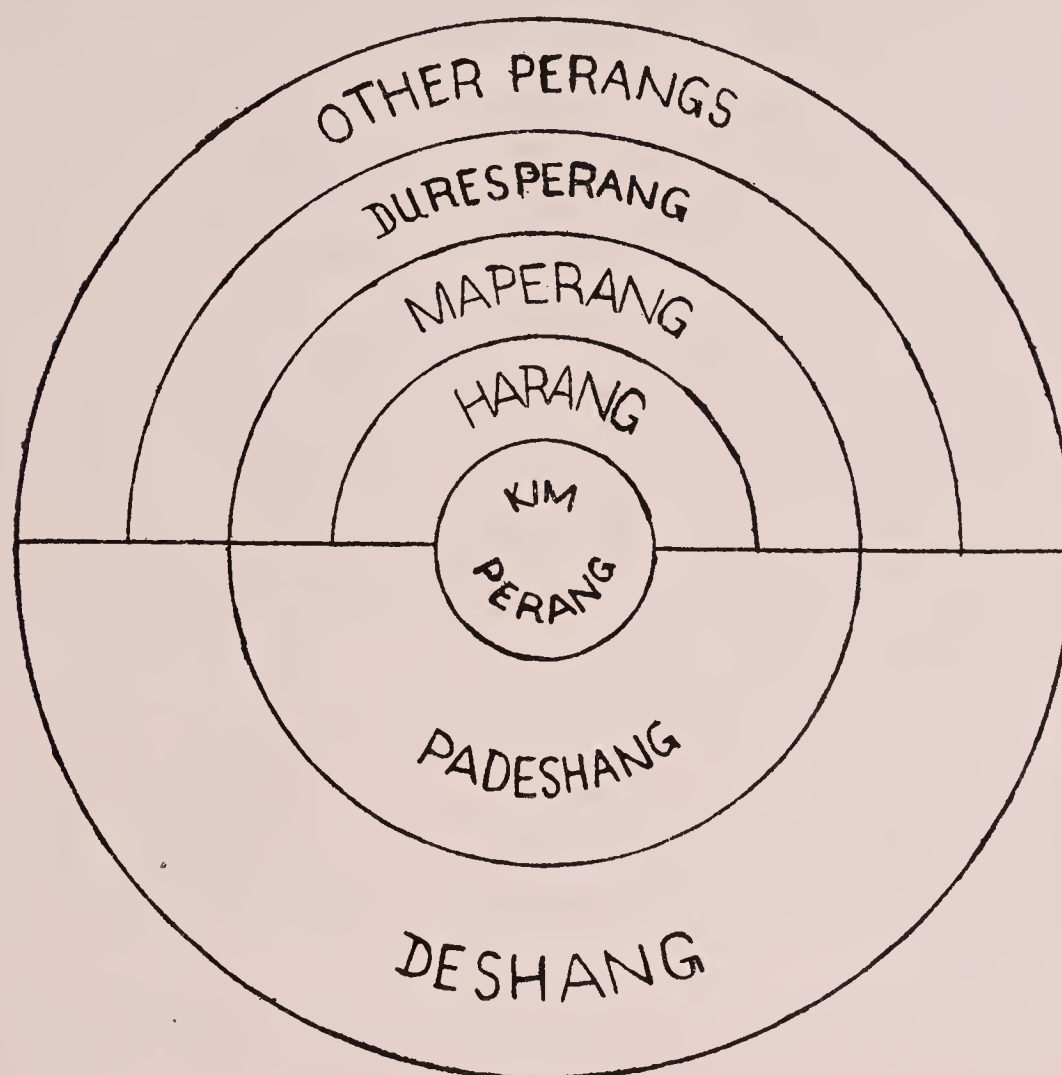
Mokomo kheyasiming system

The system of co-operation and work exchange between different kin groups and also non-kins particularly in socio-religious spheres, is called *mokomo kheyasiming* system. Under this system, there is a code of conduct performed by the Kinnaurese in order to invite certain persons related and non-related for co-operation and assistance in certain social and/or religious functions. Conventionally certain relatives are invited and some others avoided. When some ceremony takes place in a particular household, the head of the household will have to invite all his *harang*. Then he will invite *maperang*, then *duesperang* and lastly other *perangs*. If he is incapable of inviting all his *perangs*, he must invite *harang*. Then he will invite *maperang*, *duesperang*, *teteperang* and so on depending on his capability. He invites the *harang* first because they are his closest relatives who would stand by him first when he is in danger or need. Similarly when he requires some help in some socio-religious ceremony performed by him, the members of his *harang* will come forward first, and he will also request them first for their co-operation. After *harang* he will request *maperang* for co-operation and so on.

Similarly in case of non-relatives, invitation is extended to *padeshang*, the *deshang* as their help is sought on contingent occasions.

This system of co-operation and mutual help between a man and

MOKOMO KHEYASIMIG SYSTEM



different of his relatives and a man and different of his non-relatives is called *mokomo kheyasiming*.

Poltu-jatu

In Kinnaur both pre-marital and extra-marital sex-relations are resented. They do not accept such relationship so easily. Yet such type of relationships often taken place among the Kinnaurese. Sometimes the pre-marital and the extra-marital sex-relations lead to unwanted pregnancy, and this undesired pregnancy gives birth to illegitimate children. When a married woman becomes pregnant illegally, much complications are not created. She is sometimes divorced by her husband, and the person responsible for her marriage, marries her and the child becomes their child. If he does not marry he gives some compensation for the maintenance of the child. Sometimes a plot of land is also given. But real complicity arises when an unmarried girl faces such consequence. When an unmarried girl becomes pregnant it causes a great concern to her parents, and it becomes a great problem not only to them but also to the whole society. The problem concerns not only the vergin mothers but the illegitimate children also. These illegitimate children, who have peculiar position in the Kinnaurese society, are popularly known as the *poltu* in Nachar and Kalpa sub-divisions and *jatu* in Pooh sub-division.

Such type of illegitimate children are found in many villages of Kinnaur.

As stated, the illegal relation of a married woman causes embarrassment to the concerned husband or husbands who will plead for a divorce. If the complaint is proved, divorce is granted by the village council before she delivers the child. After divorce she usually marries the man with whom she had alliance and if she fails to fetch him, she starts living with her parents. So, the new born does not have any relation with his or her mother's ex-husband. The child born will receive the *khel* and *khandan* of the second husband of his or her mother.

The same thing happens when the woman has more than one husband. If it is proved that the woman has illicit relation with some other person or if she becomes pregnant by some other person, she is divorced by her husbands. In that case she remarries the man responsible for her divorce and he becomes the father of the child.

In case the man responsible for her divorce, does not want to marry her later on, she stays with her parents who always try to get compensation from the man. The man is to bear the delivery expenditure. The parents try to get the compensation from the man for the remarriage of their daughter and also the expenditure to be incurred for the delivery of the child.

But if an unmarried girl becomes pregnant, she creates a great concern to her parents. Besides the defame she earns, she puts her parents in great anxiety over her future. It becomes the first and the foremost of duty of the parents to find out the man responsible for this. As the girl discloses the identity of the person, her parents approach him with a request to marry her. If the man agrees to marry her, the marriage usually solemnizes before the delivery takes place. The child thus born becomes a member of its father's lineage. The man becomes the father of the child. But if the man does not marry her before the delivery takes place or does not marry her at all or if the man responsible for this unwanted affair, is not available for marriage before the child is born, the delivery takes place in the house of the girl's father/fathers. The person who is responsible for the birth, is asked to incur the expense of the delivery and to accept the child as his own. If the man agrees, the marriage takes place in a particular date. And after marriage they lead the life as husband and wife.

If the man does not agree either to marry the girl or to pay the compensation even after long persuasion by the parents and relatives of the girl, the latter then move to the *char bhai*, the village council. A meeting of the *char bhai* is called when the members of the *char bhai* sit together and hear the case from both the sides. Afterwards the verdict is given which usually goes in favour of the girl. The boy then has no option but to abide by the verdict given by the village council. He then either marries the girl or simply finishes his responsibility by paying off the expense of delivery. The compensation includes 20 kg. of grains, 2 kg.

of butter and one sheep or goat. A small area of land and sometimes a small hut is also given in the name of the child. This token compensation of immovable property is known as *polbuck*. This assures the future stability of the *poltu jatu* who in this way, receives some property from his 'biological' father.

In the recent past, in some parts of Kinnaur, it is seen that if a man is unwilling to marry the girl, he will pay to the woman the expenses of delivery and some amount in cash or kind or both, as directed by the *char bhai* for the maintenance of the child for three years. After that he will sever his connection with the woman and the child.

Inter personal kinship relations

The Kinnaurese live by the side of their neighbours many of whom are their relatives (*perang*). As they practise village exogamy in most of the cases, in ordinary cases the relatives of one's mother or of wife, of brother's wife, of sister's husband, son's wife or of daughter's husband are not found to reside with one in one's village. So relation is seen to be more intimate with ones' patrikins who actually take important role in the crisis of one's life, though in some cases certain matrikins also perform important role in the same. Of course, the above relatives of the Mo, Wi, SiHu, BrWi, SoWi and DaHu live in different villages, still a regular contact is maintained.

Husband-wife

Among the Kinnaurese, as the rule of virilocal residence persists, the wife after marriage, moves to the house of the husband//husbands. After coming to the house of the husband/husbands, her behaviour towards her husband/husbands varies according to the nature of households she enters. Her behaviour towards her husband in a nuclear household will definitely not be the same as that towards her husbands in a polyandrous, polygynandrous or polygynous households. As in Kinnaur all the above types of households are present, particularly the nuclear, polyandrous and polygynandrous types; so the relationship between husband/husbands and wife/wives also varies. After marriage when the husband/husbands start living with their common wife in their parental house, the complications of their conjugal life do not disappear due to the presence of several other relatives. Even when they establish their own households the presence of different brothers in different seasons keeps the complications alive. Sooner or later this polyandrous unit extends further with the birth of children and also with the marriage of any of the brother-husband. In a natural way this change in the household structure, brings change in the attitude of the husband/husbands and wife/wives towards one another.

Authority

In Kinnaurese society the authority of all husband/husbands cannot

be questioned. Of course, by husband/husbands we mean, the brothers elder than their common wife. The minor husband brothers who are younger to the common wife, do, of course, have very little authority. In this society due to the prevalence of the virilocal residence, the wife goes to the house of her husband (in case of the nuclear household) or husbands (in case of the polyandrous one). In the household the husband/husbands exert undeniable authority over the wife. In a polyandrous/polygynandrous household, she must be devoted to all her husbands, with all of whom she must share the bed. She must take care of each of the husbands equally, and her attitude towards them would be similar; otherwise rift may be created in the household. Of course, she does not have to face all her husbands at the same time, as some of her husbands remain out the village for a considerable time of the year with their trade (in the past) or with their livestock (sheep and goat mainly) or in the high altitude land (*kanda*) for cultivation. As a result she does not face the authority of all her husbands at a time. In the nuclear household she faces the authority of only one of her husbands.

Economic allocation

In Kinnaur the husband/husbands and the wife/wives form a very close co-operative unit. In their daily life each of them produces for the other. The husband/husbands cultivate the land, tend domestic animals, produce wool, earn the wages, care the fruit trees, attend to the business and look after the household. The wife/wives look after the household works, prepare food for the family members, help the malefolk in the field of agriculture, bring fuel, look after the domestic animals, nurse the little ones and also do various other jobs. In fact in Kinnaur the femalefolk do much more work than the malefolk and as such the malefolk look at them as their valuable economic assets. Though the husband/husbands in this society are the sole owner of the property and can dispose, in any way their earning but actually they consult their wife/wives before doing this. The wife/wives of course, cannot do that.

Solidarity

The marital bond among the Kinnaurese couple is not very fragile. Unlike the people of Sirmur, Himachal Pradesh (Chandra : 1974) and that of Jaunsar-Bawar, Uttar Pradesh (Majumdar : 1962 ; Saxena : 1955) divorce is not met there frequently. Unlike the people mentioned above, the Kinnaurese do not have double standard of morality. Though in this polyandrous society husbands, who are brothers, lead a peaceful life with their common wife, but sometimes the wife is unable to distribute her love towards her husbands equally. Sometimes it is seen that her attraction for a particular husband keeps the household merged in conflict. Again when any of the brothers brings another young wife, and she by custom becomes the wife of all, the first wife gets jealous and

invites conflict. But in general, the cordial relationship between the husband and wife in a polyandrous households is on the verge of breaking down as a strong tendency has developed in recent years among the brothers to have their own monogamous marriage and nuclear household.

Mother child

In the Kinnaur society children live with their parents till their marriage. After marriage sometimes this direct day-to-day contact between the mother and the children no longer exists as the daughters go to their husband/husbands' house and the sons sometimes form separate households.

Authority

When the children remain immature, the mother disciplines them. The children in their turn regard mother's authority. Even when they are quite grown up they show their respect to their mother's authority, though mother abstains from exerting authority over her grown up children. After their marriage the daughters, of course, are devoid of the mother's authority. Only when parents have only one daughter, they bring *makpa* (household son-in-law), and in that case the daughter accepts mother's authority even after her marriage. But the grown up sons even after their marriage live with the mother, and as such they show their regards to their mother's command. But undoubtedly the authority of mother is not so strong as that of the father/fathers as the latter are the owners of the property. But condition is different at Chango where the parents after the first child of their son/sons shift to a separate household with their unmarried daughter's and very young sons. In this case mother has very little authority over the grown up sons, but act as their adviser in their domestic affairs.

Economic allocation

Even from her childhood the daughter gets training from her mother in the domestic duties and other day-to-day works such as cleaning utensils, bringing water, washing clothings, cleaning the house and its surroundings, caring younger brothers and sisters, looking after the cattle, sheep and goat, etc. As she grows up further, she lightens the burden of her mother and does many domestic works and also shares the agricultural works. At the same time she brings the fuel and fodder from a distance for use. She also learns the method of performing religious rites from her mother and gets aware of her part to be played during some social ceremonies such as child birth, marriage, death, etc., she also learns from her mother about how to care the children. She shares all these works of her parental household as soon as she gets married when

she goes to her husband's house where she gradually takes up the same type of job as she used to do in her parental house. But whenever she visits her parents' house and stay there for a period, she again takes up the domestic works of her parents' house.

But in Kinnaur society mother's role in training her son in economic matters is not very significant and important. But so long her son remains young, she teaches him certain things. She directs him to do certain works which has been allotted to him. Again as he grows up he helps his mother in the agricultural field.

Authority

In Kinnaur the father exerts his authority over his children till they grow up when the intensity of exerting authority starts reducing gradually. In a natural way his authority over his daughter ceases as the daughter gets married and goes to her husband's house. But in case of the son his authority does not cease altogether but only reduces. In a natural way it continues to be present after marriage of the son; they live in an extended household with the father as the head of the household. But it is true for Kalpa and Nachar sub-divisions. In some parts of Pooh sub-division, particularly in Hangrang valley, the father/fathers gets/get separated alongwith their wife/wives and unmarried daughter and lives/live in a separate household, as the son/sons gets/get an issue. In this case father's authority remains less over his son in comparison to that of the Kalpa and Nachar area where the father and son usually do not get separated but live in the same household.

In case of the polyandrous society where a woman has several husbands who are brothers, the child born of such union will have several fathers. Though the eldest brother usually act as the 'father' of the child yet other brothers also exert authority over the child as fathers.

Economic allocation

The father's income in the Kinnauri society is the main source of income for the maintenance of the immature children. From his boyhood the son remains under direct control of the father from whom the son learns many economic pursuits, such as cultivation, sheep and goat rearing, etc. Earlier he also learnt the tactics of trade. As he learns the son helps his father in all these economic fields by rendering his labour. Gradually he replaces his father as the latter grows old.

Though the daughter in Kinnauri society devotes her labour in the field of cultivation and does almost all agricultural operation except ploughing, yet she does not get training from her father. Father's contribution in training his daughter is quite less. Though the father maintains the daughter and rears her up by his own income till she gets married. She has little economic obligations over her father after her marriage.

Solidarity

The relation between the mother and children in Kinnaur society is quite deep and strong. She loves them, adorns them and also disciplines them. They also, in their turn, respect her. So the relation that exists between them is one of affection and authority. As the mother shares the joy and pains of her children, the children, particularly the sons, when grown up, look after their mother when she gets old or infirm or falls ill.

During her children's illness, the mother nurses them, in their danger she protects them. She is always worried of their wellbeing. In a similar way the children try to sooth their mother in her misery and illness. She always thinks of their wellbeing.

Father and child

Kinnaur having a patrilineal society, the father has the most important role to play in the life of his children. He acts as the guide and teacher as well as friend in the life.

Solidarity

Father's affection over his children is definitely an asset to them. Often one can come across a father expressing her affection towards his child by patting them, lulling them, telling them stories and so on. His fatherly love gets more intense if they lose their mother in their early age. After the death of their mother the children live with their father. Even if their father remarriages, they stay with him and share his affection. When a child gets ill, the father gets worried. He tries his best to cure him. Similarly, a successful son brings boundless joy in the heart of the father. In a polyandrous society like Kinnaur, where the brothers are the husbands as well as fathers, a child does not lack the affection of the father. It is of no use to him whether he is the biological father or not, but undoubtedly he is the sociological father, and that is enough for him.

SISTER-SISTER**Authority**

In the Kinnauri society so long the mother remains alive the elder sister does not get much scope of exerting authority over the younger sister. Whenever the elder sister finds opportunity she tries to avail herself of the opportunity of exerting the authority over her younger sister. She also acts as the trainer to her younger sister in the household affairs. But this authoritarian attitude of the elder sister diminishes when she gets married.

Economic allocation

So long the two sisters live together in the household of their parents

they share the various domestic works to be done in their day to day life. An attitude of help and co-operation in this regard exists between them. In cultivation, horticulture, rearing of animals and various other economic operations, the same attitude prevails between them. After their marriage, the economic co-operation between them almost discontinues.

Solidarity

From their childhood a close intimacy grows between the two sisters. They live in the same house suck the same nectar from the breast of the mother and share the same joy and sorrow in the family. When they are young the elder sister is found to take care of the younger sister. She plays with her in order to give her company. At the same time she chides her if she gets annoyed over some of her activities. When they become matured they express their feelings of their blooming youth. A sister often discloses the ecstasy and experience of her love affairs to her sister if the difference of age between them is not much.

This sweet relationship between the two sisters decreases as they get married, and the same is revived through occasional visits to each other's house (as the marital distance is not much) or when they come to their parents' house.

Brother-brother

The Kinnaurese live in the polyandrous society and as such the relationship amongst the brothers is quite different because due to prevalence of the adelphic polyandry the brothers have a common wife, and they play the role of brother-husbands.

Authority

From their childhood till they get married the elder brother exerts power and authority over his younger even in presence of the father. If his younger brother is quite young, the elder brother rebukes and often punishes him when the younger brother commits some mistakes. The elder brother intensifies his authority over the younger brothers as their father dies. Of course, in a natural way this intensity decreases as the younger brothers enter adulthood. When the brothers marry a common wife they become the co-husbands of their common wife whom all of them share. But even in this case when their father dies, the eldest brother become the head of the household and all the other brothers remain under his control. Now also he exerts authority over his younger brothers, and allots the works to different brothers. The eldest brother looks after the core house and also the *neol* and *gaon* land and he allots the cultivation of the *kanda* (high altitude) land to some of his younger brothers, rearing of the cattle to some, grazing of the sheep and goat

to some others. In this way even when the younger brothers are grown up, the eldest one exerts authority.

Economic allocation

So long the brothers are young, they work together in their cultivable land or do share cropping or co-operate in weaving. As they grow old, particularly in the Rajput society, the brothers are allotted with specific duties. Usually the eldest brother looks after the house and the household and also cultivate the land (*gaon neol* types). Some other younger brother takes care of their high altitude land and hut and cultivates land there. Some brothers go with their herd of sheep and goats to distant places for grazing. Such other works are, in a similar way allotted to the remaining brothers (if any). In this way the division of labour yields a close operative bond among the brothers to carry out the economic functions of the household smoothly.

Solidarity

In Kinnaur society, the brothers keep a very close and intimate relationship amongst them which is apparent from the existence of the institution of polyandry. In sharing the wife they develop some kind of understanding and avoid conflict. Under this system whenever a brother goes to his wife, he keeps shoe or cap outside the door which indicates his engagement. As most of the younger brothers remain outside the core house for a considerable period the eldest brother who was so long enjoying the wife/wives, does not hesitate to allow his other brothers to share the common wife/wives when they return home. Not only in married life, in all spheres of economic, social and religious life, a bond of co-operation and mutual help persists among the brothers. However, there are instances when the property, sharing of the wife and desire for 'own' wife, create distrust, agony and conflict amongst the brothers which ultimately leads to the separation of the brothers.

Brother-sister

As in other societies in Kinnaur also the brother and sister form a close and intimate relation, even they may belong to the same mother but different fathers or of the same father but different mothers.

Authority

During their childhood the older of the two has authority over the younger. If the difference of age between them is not much, the younger brother is often found to control the elder sister. So long the sister does not get married, the elder brother is always authoritative to the younger sister. But this authority ceases to function much after the marriage of the sister when she leaves her parental house and goes to her husband/

husbands' house. But even after her marriage she likes to get her brother as her adviser and helper in her family problems. Sometimes, it is also seen that the younger brother holds the authority over the widowed or divorced elder sister who stays with him. In the Kinnauri society of Hangrang valley the parents and the married sons do not live in the same household after the birth of a child of the sons; but the parents move to a separate household units. The unmarried daughters live with their parents. Naturally thereafter, the unmarried sisters do not feel the authority of the brothers so much as they used to feel when they were together in one household.

Economic allocation

So long they live under the same roof and eat from the same hearth, brother and the sister work together. They share the labour required for the better outturn from the cultivable land. In many other economic pursuits also the two are found to co-operate with each other for smooth completion of the work for the maintenance of their own household. But co-operative relation between the two cases to continue as the sister gets married and goes to her husband's house or partially stops even before her marriages as she starts living with her parents who get separated from the sons after their first issue. sometimes a widowed or a divorced sister lives in the household of her brother. In such cases she again takes the share of the economic activities of her brother's household.

Solidarity

So long they remain unmarried and live together the brother and sister develop a close intimacy between them. Day by day this intimacy increases. Even after her marriage when she goes to her husband's house, she has usual fondness over her brother's house. Similarly, he also keeps close touch with his sister by visiting her house occasionally. Sometimes his help saves his sister's family from the burden of debts and other economic depression. Further, a good number of village endogamy also helps in keeping the ties between the two intact.

Mother's brother and sister's child

Though the Kinnaur society is a patrilineal one, yet the mother's brother and the sister's child keep a close relation.

Authority

In the Kinnauri society the father's authority is undoubtedly dominant but in certain cases where the father/fathers died an early death keeping their children young, the mother's brother is seen to become authoritarian to the sister's children. Again, after widowhood or divorce when sometimes the sister comes to the brother's house, leaving her husband's

house, the mother's brother, in a natural way, becomes the guardian of the sister's children. Sometimes, when the brother and sister live side by side even after marriage, the mother's brother's influence over the sister's children is undeniable.

Economic allocation

Economic co-operation and common activities are not very prominent between the mother's brother and the sister's son when the brother and sister after their marriage live in different village. Sometimes, the sister's children are seen to work in the house of their mother's brother. But when after her widowhood or divorce, she starts living with her brother/brothers, her children work for their mother's brother. At this time a common economic interest grows among the mother's brother and the sister's children as the latter remain economically dependent over the former.

Solidarity

It is widely accepted in Kinnaur that the sister's children share the influence of their mother's brother in shaping their life. Often a mother's brother is seen to act as disciplinarian and adviser to his sister's children. Even in the important crisis of life of the sister's children such as birth, marriage, death, etc., a mother's brother's role is undoubtedly significant. During marriage ceremony the very important rite, turban tying ceremony which confirms the polyandrous marriage, is performed by the mother's brother who during this rite ties on the head of all of his sister's sons a piece of long white cloth which indicates that the sister's sons are married jointly to a woman.

MOTHER'S SISTER AND SISTER'S CHILD

Authority

In spite of her seniority in age and status, a mother's sister does not have much authority and control over her sister's children. Only when the two sisters come to the same household after marriage (polygyny or polygynandry), they are seen to exert authority over their sister's children. Particularly, the elder sister's authority, in such cases, is undeniable.

Economic allocation

The adult children of a sister, sometimes, are found to co-operate and help their mother's sister in her agriculture, particularly when she does not have much manpower to complete her works. This is possible only when the two sisters live in the same or adjoining villages, after their marriage.

Solidarity

A cordial, but somewhat formal, relation always exists between the mother's sister and the sister's children. When they live nearby or in the same village, the sister's children go to the house of their mother's unhesitatingly and play with their mother's sister's children. Similarly a grown up daughter of sister help her mother's sister in her household work occasionally.

FATHER'S SISTER AND BROTHER'S CHILD**Authority**

Though the father's sister is much senior to the sister's child in age and status, she does not get much scope to exert much authority over her brother's child. Before her marriage when she was with parents and brothers (in Zone II and III), she sometimes, exerts authority over her brother's child. But in Zone I as soon as her brothers get a child, she shifts to a separate household with her parents. As a result she does not have much courage to be authoritarian over her brother's child. As she gets married and goes to her husband's house in a distant or even in the adjacent or the same village she refrains from being a disciplinarian to her brother's child. But in some households it is also seen that the widow or divorced sisters are quite dominant in her brother's household.

Economic allocation

So long the two live in the same household, they work jointly for the house. But after marriage when she leaves her parental house and goes to her husband's house, she ceases to work together with her brother's children. But it is also seen that the brother's children render help to their father's sister when she is actually needy.

Solidarity

In general a tender but somewhat formal relation is maintained by these two relatives between them. The relationship remains deeper so long they live together. But intimacy decreases as she moves to her husband's house.

FATHER'S BROTHER AND BROTHER'S CHILD**Authority**

In Kinnaur the peculiarity with father's brothers is that they are no longer father's brother to a brother's child but 'father' because of the

prevalence of the institution of polyandry. So to a child, his father's brothers are always 'younger fathers' instead of father's brothers. They live in the same household, and as such the child faces these 'younger fathers' (*i.e.*, father's younger brothers) as adviser and disciplinarian. So from his boyhood, a child, gets training in every walk of life from his fathers.

Economic allocation

In their common cultivable land, both 'Young fathers' and their 'son' work together to have maximum yield. The son thus gets training in various economic pursuits such as agriculture, horticulture, animal husbandry, trade (in olden days) etc. Thus a close bond on economic life in the form of co-operation and mutual help develop between them.

Solidarity

The same relationship as that exists between the father, and the son, develops between them. Socially, the father's brothers (all younger to father as the eldest brother is considered as the father in the Kinnaura polyandrous society) are recognised as fathers. Though biologically one of the brothers is the progenitor and socially eldest brother is treated as the 'real' fathers, still to a Kinnaurese his father's brothers are also fathers.

GRAND PARENTS AND GRAND CHILDREN

Authority

The relation between the grand-parents (FaFa, FaMo, MoFa and MoMo) and the grand children (SoSo, SoDa, DaSo and DaDa) is more of affection and joking in nature. While the grand-parents cut jokes to the grand-children in order to give pleasure and recreation to the grand-children, they sometimes scold the grand-children in their fault and also teach them proper things. In Kinnaur society FaFa and FaMo are more close to the grand-children than MoFa and MoMo as this society is a patrilineal one. Here grand-children and their maternal grand-parents live in distant households. They do not form common household except of course, in case of *makpa* system where daughter's husband live with parents-in-law as household son-in-law (*makpa*). Similarly, to the grand parents their SoSo and SoDa are more close than DaSo and DaDa as the daughters after their marriage, go to their husband/husbands' house. Even in this grand-parents grand-children relationship, a little difference may be noticed in Zone I, Zone II and Zone III. In the former areas after the birth of the grand-children (SoSo or SoDa), the grand-parents (FaFa and FaMo) move to a separate house and establish a

altogether separate household. But this custom is not found in the latter two zones.

Economic allocation

Economic co-operation and interdependence amongst these two sets of relatives remain very strong when they live together. They work in the same cultivable land of their own or of others. Besides, in many other works, such as the repair of the house and terraces, weaving, looking after the livestock, etc., they work hand in hand.

Solidarity

The grand-parents and the grand-children keep a very tender, affectionate and somewhat friendly relations. Often the grand-parents are found to carry the young grand-children in their laps or on the back, tell them fairy stories or sometimes cut jokes. The little ones are also much fond of their grand parents.

PARENTS-IN-LAW AND SON OR DAUGHTERS-IN-LAW

Authority

In Kinnaur the parents-in-law usually live with daughter-in-law. They stay together almost throughout their life in Zone II and III but for a short spell of time (till the issue of the first child of the daughter-in-law) in some parts of Zone I. Where *makpa* system is present, the son-in-law lives with the parents-in-law. However, so long the son or daughter-in-law as the case may be, lives with the parents-in-law, the latter instruct him/her in economic, social and religious matters and the son-in-law or daughter-in-law obeys the authority of the parent-in-law. Even when the former establishes a separate household, the latter often act as guardian and render necessary help and advice only if there is no severe conflict between them. The authority of the parents-in-law decreases when they grow old.

Economic allocation

The co-operation in the economic life mostly exists when they live together. When the daughter-in-law comes to the household of her parents-in-law, after sometime she has to take part in most of the household works with her mother-in-law. Similarly, in cultivation also she takes part with her parents-in-law. She also participates in all other economic pursuits of the household. She takes the charge of the whole house when they get old.

As the son-in-law and the parents-in-law rarely form a household, so the involvement of them in the common economic pursuits usually

does not take place. Where they form a co-residence unit (under *makpa* system), they naturally have joint economic involvement. In such households the son-in-law manages the whole economic activities of the household when the parents-in-law are too old to take part in any economic pursuit.

Solidarity

It is quite usual that the parents-in-law have tender and affectionate feelings over the son or daughter-in-law. This feelings continues so long they do not develop any conflict amongst themselves. Even if they live separately (as in the Hangrang valley the parents-in-law live separately when the daughter-in-law is blessed with a child). They keep the same sweet and warm relation among them though a partial avoidance between the mother-in-law and the son-in-law and the father-in-law and the daughter-in-law, can be noticed. This soft relation turns bitter when a conflict starts even on a minor point and this ultimately leads to the separation and division of property.

Birth ceremony

Child-birth, to the Kinnaurese, is undoubtedly an important event of life. Though they generally desire for the male child, yet they show no apathy for the female children. Infanticide is not heard of. Childlessness is always considered as disgraceful. A barren woman is always looked down with contempt. A husband of a barren wife in most of the cases, seeks divorce or remarries for the second time in order to get a child. The Hinduised but enlightened childless husband holds the Hindu concept that a male child can save him from going to hell; and as such he always desires for a son. The birth of a child is not only necessary for maintaining the continuity of the family line but also for the economic stability of the family (in Zone II and III). It is the desire of each and every parent that their property should be inherited and enjoyed by their child/children and not by others. Birth of child also carries social prestige. A childless couple is accorded less prestige in the society.

Though both husband and wife share equal responsibility biologically for pregnancy, yet in Kinnaur society the wife is held more responsible for pregnancy and the birth of an un mutilated live baby and that is why she is to observe so many restrictions and prohibitions when she carries and also when she gives birth a child.

Though the first pregnancy of the wife and birth of the first child are very significant and an event of joy to a father and also to his relatives, yet ritual connected with the first pregnancy of the wife, and the subsequent birth is not observed everywhere in Kinnaur. Actually ritual connected with this is present in Zone I and II but not in Zone III. In Lippa and Sunnam valleys, *tashilook* ceremony is observed by the house-

hold where first pregnancy and the birth of first child have taken place. In Kanum area the husband sacrifices a goat during *fullaich* festival in connection with the birth of the first issue.

A pregnant woman of the Kinnauri society, has to obey some prohibitions. She abstains herself from going to any burial and cremation ground, to any house where some sort of pollution (death or birth) has been imposed. She should also not cross any culvert or any stream or river. Similarly she should not go to the forests and some unearthly places. She should not give anything to any stranger nor should accept anything from an unknown person. She should not stay outside after dusk etc. She actually observes such restrictions during the whole period of her pregnancy.

Restriction of sexual intercourse between the husband and the pregnant wife particularly is there during the last phase of pregnancy. It is also considered that the sexual intercourse with a pregnant woman in her advanced stage is injurious to her and also her child in the womb. But often this restriction is disregarded.

When a pregnant woman falls sick, she is treated mostly by the *devi* or *devta* (presiding deity of the village, the *ghori* or the *khunt* as the case may be) who usually prescribes the method that cures her. The village quacks also treat the pregnant woman. Sometimes a lama is called who perform certain magical rites in order to cure the pregnant. Only in a very few cases the pregnant woman is taken to the hospital dispensary for treatment. And that is only when she is not cured by the treatment of *devi* or the lama or the village quack.

One of their rooms is used during confinement. As the labour pain starts, she takes shelter in the room and lies on the bed. She lives in this room from this date till the day the pollution period is over. This room gets polluted as soon as the delivery takes place. Grown up male members and also the children are not allowed to enter inside the room so long as it remains polluted. As her labour pain starts the parturating woman confines herself in the bed particularly meant by her in the lying-in-room.

An elderly and experienced woman who acts as the midwife, remains with the parturient woman in order to nurse her. In Kinnaur society there is no professional midwife. Usually the experienced but elderly women of the community act as the midwife though they do not have any scientific training on midwifery. Such a woman of one group will not work for the other group. The Rajput will not call a Koli for a Lohar midwife. A midwife is called *aapi* or *pangrohkma*. At the same time they do not call any trained midwife or nurse from the hospital or health centre.

Besides the midwife, some elderly female relatives of the parturient woman also stay there during childbirth. During delivery no man is allowed. No stranger or as non-Kinnaura is allowed to see or attend the child birth because of the fear of the evil spirit.

As the labour pain starts the attending women take care of the par-

turient woman. When the pain is acute they gently rub the belly and the abdomen of the parturient woman. Sometimes, to assure safe delivery advice of the *ghori khunt* or of the household deity *kimsu* is sometimes invoked. In some cases made magically purified butter is also given by the lama.

At the time of delivery, the pregnant woman remains either in the kneeling or squatting position till the delivery is over. Just after child birth, the midwife cuts the umbelical cord (*naing*) with an iron knife (*chaku*). Thereafter, the *aapi* washes the baby and also the mother with lukewarm water. The midwife, who cuts the umbelical cord, takes the placenta (*purokh* or *chhangkhul*) in a vessel and buries it outside the house in some field or buries it in some forest avoid the evil eyes of spirits. This spot is covered with some pieces of stone slabs so that the placenta cannot be taken out by some animal or by some malevolent spirit. After burying the placenta, the midwife cleans clothings of the mother. The fragment of the navel (*tia*) is also buried by the midwife later on. As the delivery is over the attending women, take bath and get cleaned one after another.

The Kinnaurese observe birth pollution (*sekhor*) for a period ranging from 7 to 15 days. A number of restrictions are observed during the pollution period. During this period no member of this household is allowed to go to the temple or monastery, or any neighbours house, cannot attend or perform any socio-religious ceremony, or take food from any house, and do not invoke the village *devi* or *devta*.

As the *sekhor* is over, the house is cleaned. In the morning of the day they just finish the *sekhor* they go to some *chasma* or *kul* (spring or stream) for bath. At the time of bath they wash their clothings also which they were using so long. After bath as they return home, they sprinkle water of the holi Ganges. All these are done for purification of the birth pollution (*chokharasemik*). As the pollution is over by purification, relatives and as villagers come to bless the new born. They bless the newborn by touching its head. These relatives and villagers bring some quantity of rice, *atta* (flour), butter, etc., with them. As the blessing ceremony is over, the head of the household invites the guests to attend a feast. After blessing the child, the guests give some presentation.

Hawan is the ceremony connected with the birth ceremony. It is not practised by all the households. *Hawan* is performed by the priest or by the lama.

Within this pollution period if the family is bound to perform some socio-religious ceremony, the *pujara* is called in who performs the purification rites. This purification is done by the *pujara* with the water of of holy Ganges taken from the deity of the village or *ghori* or *khunt*. The head of the household pays Rs. 1.75 to the *pujara* to obtain this water. The *pujara* perform the ritual with this water and sprinkle this water all round. Not only the members of the household, the members of the same *khandan* are also purified.

In Buddhism dominated area a lama is called on the 3rd day after birth for *sang* or purification. The Lama performs the worship and purifies the house. He also purifies the lying-in-room, the mother and the new born baby by sprinkling sacred water. On the 7th day the lama is again called in who reads out the sacred scripture, and perform *newang* ceremony. Then an inauspicious day is selected by the lama when a feast is given to the relatives, neighbours and some villagers and some of them give some presentation to the new born. After *newwang* the well-to-do persons perform *bangri* ceremony which is an enlarged version of *newang* and a large scale feast is given. After 7 or 15 days the head of the household and others go to the lama for the name of the baby and give him one rupee as fee. The Lama fixes the name after consulting the scripture.

From the Gazetteer of Simla Hill States, 1910 we get some idea about the birth custom prevalent among the Kinnaurese in the past. "When a woman is pregnant the Lama hangs round her neck a charm on a paper of birch bark, and recites a chant in the Tibetan language, which begins, *om tare tutare tare swaha*. When a son is born, adoration is made to the goddess Dolma and a chant called *bhum chung* is read by the Lamam which runs *om tayatha gate gate para gate swaha*, and means 'May God bless the child'. The child is then made over to the care of the old woman of the family, and for a fortnight the mother is segregated and not allowed to touch anything. At the end of that time she and everything belonging to her are sprinkled with a mixture of cow's urine and Ganges water".

"The child's horoscope is cast at the time of his birth by the lama, who is paid a fee by the parents".

The naming ceremony is performed by the lama when the child is fifteen days old. He prepares at the same time, some charms designed to secure the child a long life".

"The child is brought out after a month or two, when the moon is at its full, and if possible at an auspicious moment".

"When the boy is a year old, his head is shaved and the Lama performs some sacrifice such as *hom*, *puja* or *math*", (1911 : 36).

Marriage ceremony

In Kinnaur the marriage by negotiation or the elaborate form of marriage is known as *zanekang* or *zanchang* in local dialect. This marriage is settled by negotiation and mutual consent of both the parties entering into union. In order to find out a suitable mate for their son or sons, the parents employ a go-between who is locally known as *mazome* or *darmana*. Actually the well-to-do persons employ two *mazome* because one *mazome* may fail to bring required information.

Regarding the suitability of the mate, the parents of both boy and the girl take few points into consideration. Age is one of the main factors. The marriageable age for boy ranges between 16 to 30 and for the girl between 15 to 25. The parents of both the boy the girl see that the

difference of age between the boy and the girl (in case of the monogamy) or between their eldest son and the girl is not much. The selection is done in such a way that the difference does not exceed 10 years. In Zone I the marriageable age for the boy ranges from 18 to 25, in Zone II it is between 16 and 26 and in Zone III between 17 and 27. Similarly in Zone I the age at first marriage for the girl varies from 17 to 25, at Zone II it is from 15 to 20 and in Zone III from 16 to 23.

The other criteria taken into account is the good health of the boy and the girl. The parents do not like to select a sickly mate for their child. They always want a healthy mate for their child so that the couple cannot only work hard and earn well, but also lead a healthy married life. According to them a sickly life partner brings unhappiness and misery. The beauty of the girl is secondary to them. The status of the family of the mate is also an important factor. But even now except in cases of the few educated persons, education of the girl is not taken into consideration. The educated and service holder boy is liked by the parents of many girls, particularly in the enlightened areas like Kalpa, Nachar, Pooh towns. The parents, after getting information about a suitable mate for their child, send the *mazome* to the party concerned to bring consent of the parents of the girl about the marriage. The *mazome*, after going to the house of the girl's father, discusses with him about the boy, the family background of the boy and many other things and also the willingness of the girl's parents about this marriage. If they are willing, the *mazome* collects information about the girl and her family background. It is not customary to consult the boy and the girl about this marriage. Though the boy is sometimes consulted, the girl is never asked to express her opinion. The information of marriage, on the other hand, is kept secret from the girl. She will never be told that she will be given on marriage with such and such boy.

After being contacted by the *mazome* over the issue of marriage, if the girl's father gives his consent on the marriage, the *mazome* places before him Rs. 5.00 and a bottle of *chhang* with a little butter on the cork of the bottle, as a token of the formal negotiation and agreement. The butter is considered as an indication of prestige (*karchhak*). Then a little of the *chhang* is offered to the household deity (*kimsu*). As the worship is over the *mazome* applies the butter on the bottle of *chhang*, on the forehead of the father of the girl by means of the thumb of his right hand, uttering, "*tachhe tomrel*" (meaning, 'May God bless the occasion') and offers the father (of the girl) a glass of wine. A sum of Rs. 5 and a little wine are also given to the maternal uncle (MoBr) of the girl. The consent is also taken from the *bradari* or the *baigalous* (*bradar* or *baigalous*=members of the same *khandan*) which is freely given. Then the *mazome*, the girl's parents and the maternal uncle go to the village deity to get its consent. The deity is placed on the palanquin and a bottle of wine, a sum of Rs. 5 and butter are offered to the deity.

The father of the girl discloses her desire, *i.e.*, whether the match will

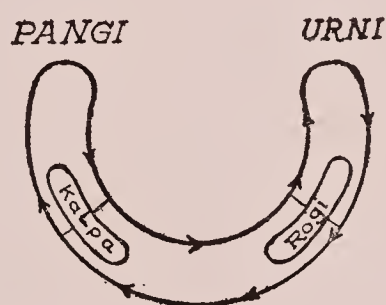
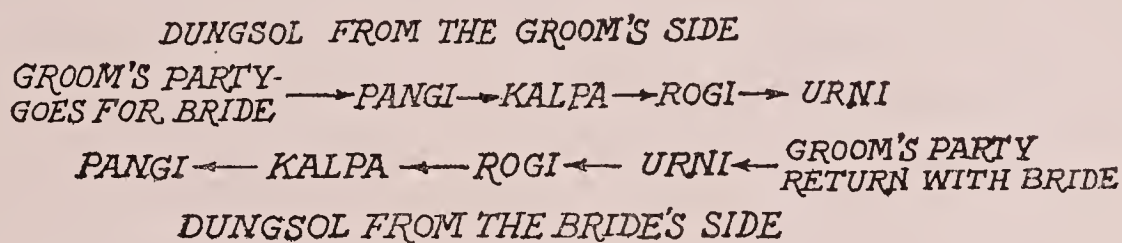
be good and whether the marriage will be proper or not, to the *matha* who, in turn, conveys the message to the deity. The deity after judging at, tell the *grokch* its desire and the *grokch* the same discloses to the girl's parents. If the deity favours the marriage, then the two parties proceed further with the marriage negotiation. After getting the consent of the deity the girl's father tentatively fixes the month and the year of marriage. But the exact date of marriage is fixed by the boy's father after consulting either the deity or the lama or the Brahmin. In Kinnaur the marriage usually takes place in the winter months when the people remain free from work. Usually Kartik (Oct.-Nov.) Maghsir (Nov.-Dec.) Magher (Jan.-Feb.), Poush (Dec.-Jan.) and Falgun (Feb.-March) are the months when marriages take place. Marriage, of course, takes place in the summer months, also, and for this purpose Baisakh (April-May), Jestha (May-June), Asadh (June-July) and Bhado (Aug.-Sept.) are suitable months throughout Kinnaur.

A day before the date fixed for marriage the village deity as well as the *kimsu* are worshipped and wine, *halwa* (a kind of sweet) and *poltu* (hand made bread made with powdered cereals) are distributed among the assembled persons. Finally, when everything is finalised, the bridegroom who is usually the eldest son of the household, gets ready for his journey towards his would-be-bride. Usually, no formal invitation is made to the villagers. Only those relatives and friends who live in other villages, are usually invited. The villagers attend such ceremonies spontaneously.

On the affixed day, the bride-groom (*lahra*) who is dressed with *chhuba gachhang*. *Pedhthepang*, *tepra*, *chauli*, *topruse sutan*, *topruse pona*, and a dagger hung from the waist, starts for the bride's village accompanied by the *mazome*, the *lahrokone*¹ (who is a boy of groom's age accompanying him) and some other relatives. Usually the wedding party (*zahna*) consists of odd number of members such as 5,7,9,11, etc., The bride-groom goes either on foot or on horse's back. If he goes on horse's back, he takes with him an adorned horse for the bride. Now-a-days the *zahna* goes in the bus also. Just before the *zahna* starts for the bride's village, the *mazome* or some other relatives of the bridegroom worship the village as well as household deities with *chhang* and prays for the successful completion of the marriage and the welfare of the couple. On the way, if the party comes across a temple, the deity is worshipped with *chhang*. On the way if the party is to cross a spring or river, it has to make a sacrifice by the dagger of the groom to appease the deity or the spirit.

¹ The *lahrokone*, who is a boy of groom's age, accompanies the bridegroom (*lahra*). The *lahrokone* is usually, relative of the bridegroom and belongs to the bridegroom's *khandan*, i.e., a *baigalous* of the bridegroom. The *lahrokone* should be survived by both the parents. A man with either of the parents dead, cannot be a *lahrokone*. If the bridegroom gets indisposed during marriage, the *lahrokone* symbolically marries the girl on behalf of the *Lahra*, i.e., bridegroom.

As the marriage party (*zahna*) crosses any village on its way to the bride's village, the married women (if any) of that village who hail from the village of the bridegroom, assemble in a particular place of the village on getting prior information. They bring offering (*prasad*) of the village deity in the form of *poltu*, *halwa* and home brewn wine (*chhang*) and give the same to the party. This system is called *dungsol*. This is also done by the married women of the bride's village. On the other hand, when the bridegroom returns to his own village with the bride, the married women living in bridegroom's village and also in villages on the way who hail from the bride's village also perform the above mentioned ritual *dungsol*. Some of the women performing *dungsol* also accompany the wedding party.



As the members of the groom's party reach the house of the bride, they are received by the *grokch* who stands with a thorny branch of a tree and also some other relatives with *poltu*, *halwa*, and wine. As the party prays for the entry, they are given then passage. The *grokch* holds the thorny branch on one side so that no spirit can enter the house. Then the *grokch* and the relatives of the bride go to some crossing of the road where they worship the deities and spirit accompanying the party. The members of the party are then cordially received and taken to a room. The members of the party are usually entertained with two meals which consists of rice, *poltu*, vegetable, meat, butter, wine, etc. Next day the groom's party gets ready for the return journey. Just before they start for their own village, the father of the bride calls the *grokch* who worships both the village and household deities. After the worship, a feast is given and then the groom's party starts with the bride for their village. The bride is accompanied by one of her elderly female relatives and a girl friend. This elderly woman is known as *konis* (kone=male companion, konis=female companion). The *konis* receives some clothings but not the *lahra*. The bride is dressed with *toprusadhori*, *gachhang*, *toprusa*, *pona*, *toprusa chauli*, *choli* and *pedhthepang*. She also wears some ornaments mainly made of silver and sometimes embedded with valuable stones,

Just before the party starts, the *mazome* on behalf of the bridegroom, offers an amount of money ranging from Rs. 5 to 100 to the mother of the bride as a token of respect. At this time the *mazome* utters to the mother of the bride, "so long you have maintained her by your breast milk. Now we are taking her. So you take this amount as *compensation* (*sarmo* or *nazrana*)". The sister-in-law of the bridegroom also gets Re. 1 to Rs. 10 as the token money of respect. After greeting everybody, the bridal procession moves towards the groom's village. As they reach the village of the groom they are received by the *grokch* and many other relatives and villagers of the bridegroom in the same way as they were received by the *grokch* and the relatives of the bride in the bride's village. The party takes rest near the house of the bridegroom. The women of the bride's village but married to this village, entertain the party with wine and *poltu* as a mark of respect and joy. Then at the house of the bridegroom, the party is received by the married women relatives of the bridegroom. The mother of the bridegroom takes a plate which contains some vegetables, wheat, barley, burning lamp, and revolves the same before the face of both the bride and the bridegroom toward off the spirit (if any). Both the bride and the bridegroom hold that plate and enter the room. The plate is then kept in one corner of the room. The lamp will remain burning for the whole night. As the bride enters the room, she crosses the smoke of the incense which expels the spirit of the bride. As the members of the party take seat in the room, the relatives of the groom give one goat (usually white) to the relatives (*perang*) of the bride with a request to cut it as it is the duty of the bride's relatives to cut it. A feast is arranged as they behead the goat.

The same day as the bridal party returns to the village the *grokch*, *pujara* and other functionaries of the village take out the post of the village deity (*cro*) to the house of the bridegroom. In the house of the bridegroom, the *grokch* worships the deity and sacrifices of the goat. The *cro* is then kept in the house of the bridegroom for the whole day.

Sometimes instead of *cro*, the village *devi* or *deyta* is brought. The deity is usually kept on the roof of the house of the groom. The worship is done by the *pujar* with the sacrifice of a goat and the offering of coconut. The relatives of the groom offer some money to the deity and seek the blessing of the deity. The couple also offers some money and gets the blessing of the deity. After the blessing ceremony is over, the deity leaves for the temples in the evening. After the departure of the deity two elderly relatives of the groom (his mother, sister or mother's brother's wife) after bath and wearing new clothings worship *kimsu* and ask for the blessing for the couple.

When all the above rituals are over, the 'turban tying ceremony' starts. In this ritual, which is considered as the most important ritual that symbolises polyandrous marriage, all the brothers sit in row. The bride sits before them. The grooms, *i.e.*, brothers and their bride are garlanded. These garlands (*obal*) are made of various dry fruits like

neoza, *chuli*, *khumani*, etc. Presentations are also given now. The *mazome*, *konis* and *lahra* are also garlanded. The maternal uncle of the bridegroom then takes a piece of white cloth, ties the *pagri* (*turban*) on the head of each brother with that piece of cloth, with the accompaniment of the music. This indicates the marriage of all the brothers with the common wife.

Then the *mazome* and the *konis* take the bride to all the relatives and other persons and introduce her with all (*sayanning kunnu*). The girl bows to each of them. After this the groom's father gives a piece of land and sometimes some other property to the girl and signs a document in this regard. This donation to the bride is known as *bethou* and the deed thus made by the father of the groom in this regard is called *bethoupono*. The cash given during this time is called *beldong* which goes to the groom.

If the bride is forced to leave her husband's house, her parents claim the property. If the father of the groom declines to honour the *bethoupono*, the relatives of the bride, go to the panchayat who actually directs the father of the groom to hand over the property to the bride after judging the merit of the case. If the bride leaves the house of her own, she cannot claim the property as mentioned in the *bethoupono*.

The cash or the kind which relatives and others invitees give as presentation, are recorded and the record is maintained by the father of the groom. The presentations are recorded because when some marriage will take place in the house of any such person and if this family is invited, then this family will have to give the same amount or identical things to the former.

Finally, a feast is given to all the persons assembled in the house. The guests in their turn, give some presentations either in kind or in cash. This is known as *bethou*. The presentations are also recorded, and these are owned by the bride. Later on when the relatives of the bride are about to depart, the bride garlands each of them who gives her some cash presentation (*udanang*). Only the bride has the claim on this sum. A record of this amount is also kept. The *udanang* is usually kept by the *mazome* for a year and for this he will pay no interest for that year. If the *mazome* keeps the *udanang* even for more time, he will pay an interest of $12\frac{1}{2}\%$ for the amount. Otherwise he will return the amount to the bride after a year without paying any interest.

Before the relatives of the bride take leave, the women of the bridegroom's village come to bid farewell. The relatives of the bride pay some amount of cash to these women, and this is known as *saboning*. Only the village women have the right on this amount which they spend on feasting.

The bride then stays in the house of the groom for a period which is fixed by the two parties after discussion. On the fixed day some relatives of the bride come to the groom's place to take the bride back. A feast is given to them. But no ritual is performed. Thereafter they take both

the bride and the bridegroom to their village. While the bridegroom returns after a few days, the bride stays in her parental house for about a month or so, the period being fixed by the *mazome*. After the lapse of this period the bridegroom or one of his relatives goes to the house of the bride to bring her in her father-in-law's house.

The marriage ceremony as present in Buddhism dominated area, is almost same with slight difference. In this zone instead of priest, *i.e.*, *pujar*, *matha* or *grokch* or even *brahmin* (as prevalent in Nachar and Sangla areas), the Lama conducts the wedding ceremony. Further in this area no deity is worshipped.

All the premarital rites performed here are similar to the other two zones. On the day of marriage the lama performs worship and notes the women and expels the evil spirits, etc. by chanting magical hymns and sometimes performing magical rites. This is done so that the marriage ends smoothly. After this the party of the boy prepares for the journey to the girl's house. The auspicious time for journey is fixed by the Lama after consulting the religious book. On way to the girl's house or on return journey, whenever the marriage party requires to cross a river or rivulet or stream or any water sources or any culvert, the Lama or the boy's father performs some worship with offerings only or even with a sacrifice. When a sacrifice is made while crossing a river, etc. only the blood is offered; the body of the sacrificial animal is taken with the party and later on used in the feast. Sometimes for this reason a party requires to sacrifice a number of animals which requires a good amount of money. Possibly, this is one of the reasons that the marriage distance is short, *i.e.*, marriage takes place within the village or in the neighbouring village and rarely in a distant village.

Most of the rites and rituals performed during the journey to the bride's house and on way back, are similar to those performed in other two zones as described earlier. On return to their village, the members of the marriage procession are cordially received. Before the party enters the house of the boy, the Lama performs some rituals on the main entrance of the house. The main rite of this ritual is to sacrifice a goat or sheep. After worship, the party is allowed to enter inside the house. Then the Lama and the father of the boy again worship various spirits and deities of their religion.

The marriage ceremony as prevalent in early 20th century can be had, has been recorded in the Gazetteer of Simla Hills States 1910. It states that the marriage customs of the Kinnaurese, particularly of the Upper Kinnaur, "resemble those of the Tibetans, and the usual practice is for several brothers to share one wife. The ceremony is performed by the Lamas, who recite some chants and prayers and sacrifice a goat or two. The Lama receives a fee according to the means of the family" (1911 : 36).

But the marriage custom, of the people of Lower Kinnaur were certainly different from those of the Upper Kinnaur. The former, on

the other hand, had similarity with those of the people living in and around Rampur Bushahr. The matrimonial ceremony as prevalent among the people of Mahasu or Rampur in early 20th century, started with betrothal which is known as *sagainor sota*. The father of the boy used to send a few ornaments or a rupee or two to the bride's parents through the hand of a priest or a relation. If the girl's side accepted the presents and the messenger accepted the food, the contract was effected. A *sagai* could be cancelled but in that case the party which had cancelled the *sagai* had to repay other expenses incurred in connection with the ceremony.

Bride price was prevalent among the Rajput as well as among the lower castes. The Rajput used to pay Rs. 60 and the other castes Rs. 40 or less. This was called *dhori* which was supposed to be spent in defraying the expenses of the marriage and was not appropriated by the bridegroom or bride.

Of the three forms of marriages present at that time, *biah* or regular marriage was performed in accordance with the *shastras* while the other two forms, *jhajra* and *gadar* or *paraina*, were informal and unorthodox. The bridegroom sends one or two men to fetch the bride, who comes attended by a party of her own relations and friends. On arriving at the bridegroom's house, a bucket of wheat or rice, a *lota* of water, and a lamp are placed in front of the door, and the bride worships these at the threshold. Then she goes into the house and worships the hearth and Ganesh. In the *jhajra* ceremony, the worship of Ganesh is essential. If this is dispensed with the ceremony is *gadar*. There is no other distinction between the two. The bridegroom if well-to-do, gives a feast, which is attended by a representative of every house in the village, and fees from four annas to one rupee are given to the priest, barber, musicians and the village menials. A poor man does not throw any feast, but merely gives his bride a rupee to feed the people who have come with her. Three days later the bride's parents visit the newly married couple bringing with them some food. This is called *murapuli*. After three days this visit is returned, and the bridegroom, on entering the house of his parents-in-law, presents each with a *nazar* of one rupee, which is returned to him when he leaves. The return visit is called *danovar* (*op. cit.* :13.)

Marriage by elopement

The other form of marriage which is quite common in Kinnaur, is that by elopement, locally known as the *dab-dab* or *khuchis*. The literary meaning of *dab-dab* is whisking away with the bride. In this case, the boy alongwith some of his friends goes to the house of the girl or some place wherefrom he, with the help of his friends, elopes with the girl. Generally, in such cases both the boy and the girl, have consent, Even sometimes, it is also known to the parents of both party. Soon as the incident is known to the bridegroom's parents, they send two middle men (*mazome*) to the girl's father. The middle men request the father

of the bride to excuse the boy and the girl for the fault committed by them. They also request the parents of the bride to agree on the marriage of their daughter with this boy with whom she fled away. The parents of the girl, after consulting their relatives and well wishers demand compensation for the loss of prestige took place for this act (*izyat*). Then the negotiation goes on between the two parties and ultimately a settlement is reached. The parents of the girl then agree to give marriage of their daughter with the boy. The amount to be paid for *izyat* is quite high. In Zone I, it varies from Rs. 100 to 500 even it goes as high as Rs. 1000 considering the status of the family. In Zone II this amount is between Rs. 150 and 300 but in Zone III it is same with Zone I. Sometimes, the parents of the boy face great difficulty in arranging money for the *izyat*. The parents of the bride want to have a *zanekang* (elaborate) type of marriage ceremony. If the parents of the boy are rich they might agree to it, if not, they persuade the parents of the girl to exempt them from such a huge expenditure. The ceremony, then, is done in a mutually settled way. When everything is agreed upon, a day is fixed when the boy alongwith middlemen and some of his relatives takes the girl back to her parental house. Before she is sent back to her parents, she is given clothings and ornaments. Some foodstuff (*poltu*, etc.) are also given for distribution among the girl's relatives. The bridegroom then offers some money ranging from Rs. 5.00 to Rs. 10.00 to his mother-in-law and sister-in-law and also some other relatives as a mark of respect and bows to everyone. Then the boy and his companion after a feast leave for their own village. After a month or so she is taken back to her parents' house. On the day of her departure for her parents-in-law's house all her relatives assemble in her house. The occasion is marked by a feast given by the girl's father. The guests, in their turn, give her some cash, utensils, furniture, clothings, etc. Her parents also give some clothings, ornaments, etc. On her arrival to her husband's house, she is very cordially received. Sometimes after her arrival some ritual takes place and the couple starts living as husband and wife without performing any ritual.

The father of the girl may request the boy's party through *mazome* to agree for a single marital ritual called *soroliamo*. If the boy's party agrees to this request the ceremony is held in the bride's house on an auspicious day fixed by the girl's father after consulting the priest or Lama. On the appointed day, the bridegroom with a few of his relatives comes to the house of the bride where the main function the 'turban tying' ceremony is celebrated. After the ceremony, a feast is given to the groom's party and the guests by the girl's father. Next day the groom with his relatives return with the bride.

Sometimes, the boy's party does not agree with *soroliamo*. In that case, the boy and the girl start living as husband and wife. This gets social recognition if the girl's father accepts *izyat*. Even if the girl's father does not accept the *izyat* or if he is not given *izyat* money by the boy or his

father, even then the marriage gets social recognition if the boy and the girl live like husband and wife. Of course, in the latter case the father of the girl goes to the village council for some settlement.

Marriage by love is quite common among the younger generation. This form of marriage is known as *dumtangshis*. In this case, the boy and the girl make love and marry secretly. The boy brings the girl to his house and, thereafter the negotiation starts in the same way as in *dab-dab*.

Divorce

Divorce is locally known as *shing-ticka shimig* or *thag-chocha*. It is permissible on part of both husband and wife. When a man wants to divorce his wife he can do it directly while a woman does it through her parents. When the persuasion of the relatives and friends to give up the idea of divorce fails, then a day is fixed for divorce. On the appointed day and time, the parents of the woman and her husband assemble at a place and settle the accounts. A settlement is made on the utensils, ornaments and cash given to the woman at the time of marriage, for which an account was kept at the time of marriage. These things are to be returned by the husband or husbands to the woman. When all these are settled up, both husband and wife stand face to face holding a narrow but elongated piece of wood in the hand. Sometimes a twig, instead of a piece of wood, is taken. The village officials and some other respectable men of the village remain there as witness. Then the husband and the wife holding that piece of wood are asked to break it. As they break it the divorce is granted. They are now free to lead their life in their own way.

The divorce is wanted either by the husband or the wife on the following grounds :

- (i) If the wife is barren or quarrelsome, loose character or immoral or does not like to work, or suffers from contagious or incurable disease, etc.
- (ii) If the husband is impotent or debauch, or suffers from incurable or contagious disease or unable to feed the wife, or tortures the wife, etc.

In *wazib-ul-arze*, the procedure of divorce is slightly different from the traditional system as stated earlier. The *wazib-ul-arze* states that if a married woman or a woman whose *barni* has taken place, does not want to live with her husband, then she has to apply to Magistrate for divorce. The authority then selects some *panch* (*char bhai*) agreed to by both the parties. The *panch* members go to the spot and try to make compromise among the parties. If during this period, the husband frees his wife, then it will be the duty of the *panch* to make the woman to return ornaments money, etc. to her husband, and to get back *stridhan* from the husband to his wife. In case, the *panch* fails to bring an agreement between the parties, then they send their report of investigation to the Magistrate. The Magistrate again tries to bring about an agreement.

In some cases, a report from the doctor is also necessary. After this the Magistrate gives necessary order. But before issuing the order for divorce, the Magistrate will ensure that return of gifts has been properly done.

Conditions for divorce

Following are the conditions for divorce as prescribed by the *kanun islahat rasoomat Bushahr*. No woman after *barni* or marriage can become free without the consent of her husband. But she can be free on the following conditions on application to the authority.

(a) In case of marriage

- (i) if the husband was impotent from childhood but the marriage was done by force or fraud;
- (ii) if the husband suffers from venereal diseases after marriage ;
- (iii) if the husband becomes a member of such a group by which his wife cannot be sustained according to the prevailing custom ;
- (iv) if the husband treats his wife badly and torture her and there is no hope of improvement of their relations ;
- (v) if the husband is punished for some serious offence and the woman has no child and
- (vi) if the husband's whereabouts are not known for at least seven years.

(b) In case of barni

- (i) if the man is impotent ;
- (ii) if the man falls prey to some incurable disease ;
- (iii) if the man adopts membership of a group which renders the marriage illegal ;
- (iv) if the man becomes permanently disable ;
- (v) if the man's whereabouts are unknown for two years ;
- (vi) if the man has become blind, dumb or deaf permanently ;
- (vii) if the man becomes very ugly and ;
- (viii) if he has gone insane.

Dingi

In some places *dingi* amounts to divorce. But in some other places it is a sort of notice before divorce. After the notice, either the woman can go back to live with her husband or she can be free after her husband receives back her ornaments, cash, clothings, etc., given by him.

After the reforms once a woman gets this *dingi*, she will be considered free. If, however, a woman goes back to her husband before her remarriage, then there is no need of performing a fresh marriage.

The proof of breaking of the *dingi* is the receiving back by the husband ornaments, cash, etc, which he gave to his wife.

In connection with the *dingi* system, the Gazetteer of Simla Hill States mentions, "The husband gives the wife a small stick, called *dingi* to break. If she breaks it, the divorce is complete (1911 : 14)".

Widow remarriage

There is no restriction on widow remarriage. But the widow will have to be married according to the prevailing customs and rules of marriage. The following conditions are important in this respect.

- (i) Every widow will have to remain in the house of the deceased husband's or parents' house for one year after the death of her husband. However, if the kins of the husband's family permit her to marry within that aforesaid period, she can marry.
- (ii) Lactating widows cannot marry till the baby is weaned and the weaning period is taken to be maximum of two years after the death of her husband. If, however, the child is weaned a year after the husband's death, then the widow can remarry only if some of her kins takes charge of the baby.
- (iii) A woman who is pregnant at the time of her husband's death, cannot remarry till the delivery is over and the baby, if any, becomes two years old.

Death ceremony

Cremation (*agang*) is the usual practice among the Kinnaurese. Burial is taken into account only in case of a minor child (below three years) and persons suffering from contagious diseases like leprosy, small pox, etc. Usually, no post funeral rites are observed for them. Sometimes in case of still birth or infant death (upto 6 months), the dead body is kept in a wooden box and immersed in the water of the river (the Sutlej or any of its tributaries). In this case also, no post funeral rite is observed. As the whole of Kinnaur is situated on the high mountains of the Himalaya, accident due to landslide is common. At the same time, one may fall down from the mountain or may die of the falling stone. In all these cases, even if the whole body is not available, a part of it is cremated. If a woman dies during her pregnancy, she is cremated, but before cremation the child in the womb is taken out and buried. A pregnant woman is always cremated in a far off place as afterwards she becomes *chureil* (spirit of the pregnant woman).

When it is found that the man is about to die he is laid on the floor of the room. At that time, a few drops of *gangajal* (water of the holy river *Ganga*) are poured in the mouth of the dying man and name of Rama, the Ramayana hero, is uttered. This is for Zone II and III. In Zone I instead of pouring *gangajal* in the mouth of the dead and uttering *ram nam*, a Lama is called who utters the Buddhist hymn. When it is felt that the end is drawing nearer, *panch ratna*¹ is also put on the mouth of the

¹ Panch ratna is a combination of five things, Gold, Silver, Brass, Iron and Moti. It is considered as very valuable and sacred.

dying man. It is believed this helps the dying man to reach heaven (*swarag*). Usually, the richer section only keeps *pancha ratna* as it is very costly. The poor people in Kinnaur use some coins (0.25 paise, 0.50 paise or 1.00 coin) on the mouth of the dying man, and this coin, in their case, serves the purpose of *panch ratna*. Meanwhile, in Zone I and III, somebody goes to call in a Lama to recite before the dying man the religious scripture. If the Lama is not available, then some relative or anybody reads some religious book. In Zone II and in some villages of Zone III where there is no Lama, somebody reads the Hindu religious books like the Geeta. This is for the salvation of the dying man after death and for the eternal peace of the soul.

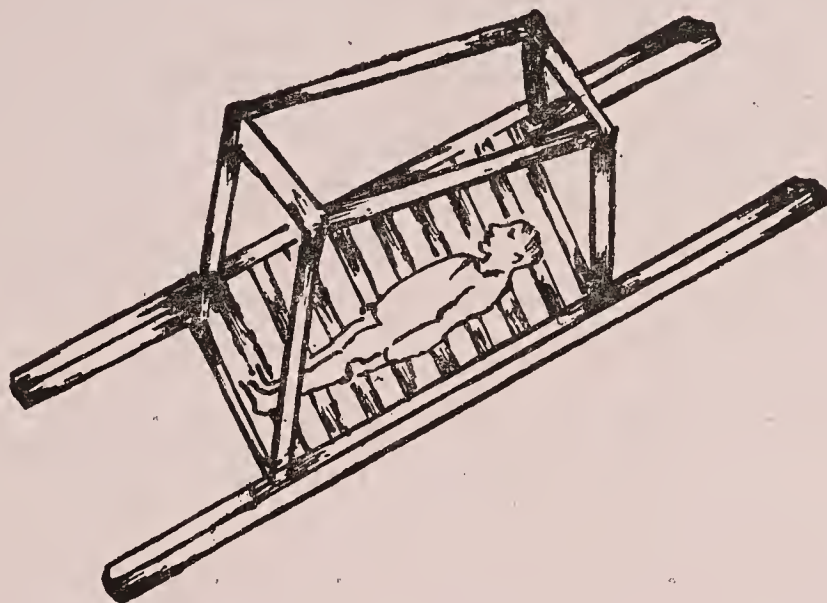
As the man dies the close relatives, particularly the womenfolk start weeping loudly. Some elderly and experienced persons examines his eyeball², feels his heart beat or the breathing in order to become sure that the death has already placed its cold hand on him. After sometimes the relatives, neighbours and co-villagers start making arrangements for the disposal of the dead body. The disposal of the dead takes place only in the day time and never at night. If somebody dies at night, the corpse is disposed only in the next morning.

The dead body is first given bath with the urine of the cow (*gontrang*) mixed with water. Cow's urine is considered as sacred, and that is why the last bath is given with it. If the dead person is a male, then the dead body is washed with *gontrang* by some persons belonging to his own *khandan*, if the deceased be a female, then it is done by some women of her *khandan*. If in that village or in the adjoining village there is no person belonging to her *khandan* and if her village is far away from her husband's village, then some female members of her husband's *khandan* perform the bathing ceremony. After the wash, the body is rubbed with butter or *ghee* (clarified butter). Then the body is wrapped up with a piece of white cloth (*barki*). Then either the wife or the mother or the mother's brother's wife of the dead, lights a lamp near the head of the dead. The dead body is usually kept in the north-south direction, head being in the north and face upwards. The female relatives of the dead then start moving round the dead with burning incense sticks in their hand and uttering *ram nam* (name of Rama, the Ramayana hero). They move in a peculiar way. They stand on the right hand side of the dead, near the head. Then they start moving towards the feet, then turn left, cross the feet, again turn left, and move towards the left hand side of the head forming a semi-circle. Reaching the left side of the head they turn right and make another horse shoe (U) shaped move. This is done for three times.

Meanwhile some of the male relatives instruct a Badhi (carpenter) to prepare a bier (*moro*). Usually, the Badhi or the Koli make the bier for the Rajput. The bier is constructed in the following way.

² If the eyeball get fixed and do not move, it is thought that the man has passed away.

First of all two elongated wooden poles are placed parallelly, one about two feet apart from the other. A number of narrow cross pieces are then tied at an interval giving it a shape of a ladder with about $1\frac{1}{2}$ ft. to 2.0' ft. breadth. On it a box like structure is made by wooden pieces.



When the bier is ready two male relatives of the dead hold the dead-body and place the same on the bier. The box like structure is then covered with a white cloth. That means the body of the dead remains on the ladder inside that box like structure. The bier is then decorated with pieces of coloured cloths. But this is done only by the wealthier section.

When everything is ready four persons who are choosen as the bier carriers (*thanchang*) start with the bier towards the cremation ground (*mortholing*). The bier carriers are usually closely related ones. Usually the sons act as the bier carriers. Sometimes, of course, other relatives friends and co-villagers belonging to the same group act as bier carrier. Very young boys are not allowed to carry the bier. The womenfolk are tabooed to carry the bier. The Kinnaurese do not have any fixed place as burying place. Usually any place on the bank of a river, stream or rivulet is used for this purpose. Where there is no water source nearby, the people there go to the forest near the *kanda* land. Usually no two groups cremate in the same place. And the place where once cremation has taken place, is usually avoided for the second cremation.

The dead body is taken to the burning place in a procession. Both men and women, relatives or not, take part in this procession. The village musicians (*baijantri*) also accompany the procession of the dead. The women who take part in the procession, go upto a certain point. Thereafter, they return to the house of the dead. The funeral procession then consists of only the menfolk. Along with the procession, incense, sandal paste, *deodar* or *devidar*, a kind of scented wood, barley, butter, *gomutra*, hoe, axe, mustard seeds, etc., are taken. In Zone I, some effigies made of *sattu* (powdered cereals) which represent the deities, are also taken. Two persons carry with them a white sheet of cloth as flag before the bier. The point wherefrom the womenfolk return, is the boundary

of their village at that end. Here the bier carriers keep the bier on the ground. The female folk revolve round the dead body in the form of double 'U' throw flowers on the dead body. Thereafter, they leave the deadbody and return to the house of the dead. But before they leave the place, they give some cash to the musicians. As the womenfolk take leave, the bier carriers again lift the bier and start for the cremation ground. From now onward, one of the relatives starts throwing handful of barley and utter *ram nam* (Zone II and III).

On reaching the burning *ghat*, a very close but elderly relative, after consulting others, selects a spot on the bank of the river and the bier carriers keep the bier there in the north south direction, with head in the north. Some others go to collect fire wood. Each member of the funeral procession carries one piece of firewood with which the pyre (*purokh* or *agang*) is constructed. On another place which is selected by the same person, a small pit is dug. On this pit pieces of wood are arranged in cross-rows. There are total of five rows of wood. After completing the pyre, the bier carriers take the deadbody out of the bier and with the play of the music by the musicians, they keep the deadbody by the side of pyre and undress it. They spread a cloth over the pyre and another folded cloth is kept on its northern end as pillow. The third piece of cloth is spread over the dead body to cover it. Sandal paste, *ghee* etc. are spread over the cloth. Then they keep the body on the pyre. The eldest son of the dead (or the youngest, son or any other son, or any of the brothers or father's brothers son or father's brother's son's son, etc.) taking some water, moves bare headed round the pyre anti clockwise for three times and all the time sprinkle water and barley. After completing three rounds he bows before the dead with folded hands after keeping the cap on the ground and prays for the peaceful salvation of the soul of the dead. He then lights the pyre from the direction the deadbody was placed on the pyre. After the fire starts covering the pyre one of the bier carriers keeps one stone (*spurag*) each in three corners of the pyre keeping the fourth corner—the corner through which the pyre was lit—free. The *spurags* which act as the protecting wall, prohibits the soul of the dead to go out from sides. On the fourth side fire acts as the protecting wall as the pyre was lit from that corner.

As this is over the relatives of the dead revolve round the pyre in the same way as before sprinkle water.

Then one of the bier carries moves round the pyre with a pot containing *gomutra* (urine of the cow) sprinkling the same on the pyre. Later, he throws the pot of *gomutra* on a stone in order to break it. Then the pyre is allowed to burn so long the body is not turned to ashes.

In Zone I as the procession reaches the burning grounds, the Lama makes a rectangular sign with the horn of a wild goat uttering the name of Lord Buddha. By the side of this mark the bier carriers place the bier and on this rectangular mark they prepare the pyre. Meanwhile, the Lama goes a little away from the pyre and worships different deities

and spirits represented by the *sattu* effigies. He kindles the incense sticks and lamps. After worship he breaks the effigies and distribute a little *sattu* to each and every person assembled there, except those who carried the bier and were directly involved in the disposal of the dead. Then the Lama directs the eldest son to lit the fire in the pyre and accordingly the eldest son does it. Then the body is allowed to get burnt.

Before the body is completely burnt, the bier carriers collect a bone (*uh*) preferably from the upper part of the body and keep the same in a container. In a similar way a little ash of the pyre (*bospa*) is also collected and kept in a small piece of cloth. The rest of all the ashes are heaped in one place on the pyre and on it water is poured. Three stones are kept on it and mustard seeds are spread over the pyre. A branch of some thorny tree is planted there. A flag is also hoisted there.

When all these are over they wash their mouth and feet and return to the house of this deceased. On reaching the house of the dead, they take rest for a while and drink *chhang*. After finishing their glasses, they go to their respective houses and change their dress. Two persons are especially employed to wash the dresses of all those who attended the funeral of a person. They are paid by the householders of the deceased. These two persons are called *gasachicha* or *kussanmasan*. Their duty is to collect and wash the polluted dresses of the persons who attended the funeral.

Meanwhile after the procession leaves the house for the cremation ground those female relatives of the dead who do not join the procession clean the house of the deceased with water, *gomutra*, cowdung and mud.

In the same evening, reading of religious scripture takes place in the house of the deceased. In Zone I and in some villages of Zone III, Buddhist religious books are read whereas in Zone II and in many villages of Zone III some Hindu religious books like the *Geeta*, the *Mahabharata*, etc. are read. This reading of the religious books continues for the whole night. This night is known as *dubrating*.

As the members participating in the funeral procession return to the house of the deceased from the cremation ground, they bring with them a piece of bone of the deceased in a piece of cloth. The bone is kept in a safe place in the house so that it is not touched by anybody. A lamp is kept there which continues burning throughout the night. Just by the side of the lamp, a plate is kept on which some flour is spread. By the side of the plate, a pot of water is also placed. In the following morning, the village magician or priest examines any mark on the flour of the plate. Any scratch mark on the flour indicates that it has been tasted by the soul of the dead. If the flour shows foot-prints of some animal or bird, it is believed then that the soul has tasted the flour in the disguise of some animal or bird.

For a week some members of the family of this deceased accompanied by some villagers, carry some cooked rice, bread, butter, etc. to the cremation ground every morning and keep those items on some stone cleaned

previously. Some incense is also kept burning there. They go a little away from the place to watch that the foodstuff is eaten by the crow.

Those who can afford to go to Hardwar to immerse the bone in the holy *Ganga*, start for Hardwar within a day or two after cremation. In Hardwar at *Brahma Kunda* (*har-ki-piri*) they perform the obsequial rites by employing a Brahman, who also offers obsequial cakes (*pinda*) in the name of the departed soul and also in the name of the ancestors and ancestresses of the deceased. When the obsequial rites and rituals are over, the Brahman immerses the bone in the water of *Brahma kunda*. For this act the Brahman of Hardwar gets from his Kinnaurese client some clothes, some money, fruits, rice, sweets, etc., besides the expenditure for the whole ritual. As the ritual is over, they shave their hair, beard and moustache. When the shaving ceremony is over, they take oblation in the holy *Ganga* for purification. After this they proceed for home taking *gangajal* in some container.

Usually the pollution period lasts for 7 or 8 days. During the pollution period they do not take any non-vegetarian dish, and also avoid fried things, onion, garlic, etc., and also do not apply *tulka* to the pulses or vegetables. The members of the house of the deceased are not allowed to perform any socio-religious festivity nor they are allowed to attend any festivity. They will not give food to anybody nor they will accept the same from anybody. But usually after 13 or 15 days *sunda* (*kalrasimik*) rite is observed. Though most of the pollution restrictions are over on the 8th day, but some are followed till *kolrasimik* ritual is over. These restrictions are on using of oil, onion, garlic, etc., on going to festivity, performing socio-religious ceremonies in the house, etc. On the day *sunda* is observed, the bier carriers and those who took active part in the funeral ceremony, those who cleaned the polluted clothings, those who cleaned the house, etc. are invited. A feast of halwa, *poltu chilta*, etc., is given to the invitees. From these days the family members are free from any restrictions.

In Zone I the final purificatory and obsequial rites take place on the 7th day. A Lama is called who worships the deities and spirits of Buddhist *pantheon* on an open space in the house. A number of villagers and relatives attend this function. The Lama burns incense sticks there and lit up lamps. He also chants from holy book. After worship he sprinkles sacred water on every body and all corners of the house. The deities are represented by the *sattu* effigies. Later on he distributes *sattu* of the effigies to all. At the end, the house owner gives feast to all and also distributes *chhang* (beer). Then they are free to do everything.

The final obsequial rite (*aating*) is observed in a fixed date. It is performed on the 15th, 20th, 40th, 60th day after the funeral. The Lamas say and the people believe that if the *aating* takes place within 30 to 40 days after death, the soul will go to heaven.

For *aating* some rules are followed. Following are the rules for the *aating*.

- (1) Those who die after *baisakhi* week but definitely before the last day of *ashar* (dakrail festival) *aating* takes place during dakrail festival.
- (2) If somebody dies after *dakrail* but before *dashera* festival (Sept.-Oct.), *aating* is observed during *dashera* or *fulaich* festival.
- (3) If some person dies after *dashera* or *fulaich* festival but definitely before *dewali* festival, then the obsequial rites take place during *dewali* festival.
- (4) When some person dies after *dewali* but positively before *lohri* festival, in their case *aating* takes place on *lohri* or *magheswar*.
- (5) Those who die after *lohri* but positively before *baisakhi*, in their case, the *aating* takes place during *baisakhi* day.

Now-a-days of course, *aating* is observed in many cases, after 15 days but within 40 days. Previously, there was no metalled road and no vehicular transport. So it was difficult for the relatives to attend the ceremony on a particular day. But now as the road have been constructed and transport (vehicular) is easily available, if one fixes a day after, say 15 or 20 days, one can easily inform one's relatives living in any village of Kinnaur and the relatives from such villages can also attend the ceremony.

On the day the *aating* ceremony takes place, the bier-carriers, persons who washed the polluted clothings and those who actively participated in the funeral are specially invited. Others, such as the relatives, friends, neighbours, and villagers are also invited. Foodstuff like *poltu*, *halwa*, *chilta*, etc. and also *chhang* are prepared for this occasion. The musicians who are generally Koli by caste, play instrumental music there. As they start, the music for the third time, one of the relatives of the deceased, either his son or his brother, comes out with a bottle of *chhang* and also incense. He is followed by other relatives carrying food-stuff. All of them go to the temple where in a fixed place they keep all those food-stuff. As soon as they keep those foodstuff, the musicians, who were so long accompanying him, stop playing the musical instruments. After this one member from each house of the village, belonging to various ethnic groups, keeps a plate on the courtyard of the temple. At first the bier-carriers and those who washed the polluted clothes and the persons of the same age with the deceased, are served with foodstuff, fruits and sweets. Each of them is also given one rupee or two or a cap or a shoe. The relatives of the deceased then go to each and every person and offer the food articles, etc.

Meanwhile the bottle of wine and the burning incense, which the son or the brother of the deceased carriers, are given to the *pujara* who worships the deity in the temple with the wine and the incense.

This worship and this distribution of foods are known as *santamik*. When *santamik* ritual is over, the relatives, bier carriers and others return to the house of the deceased where they are served with the above mentioned foodstuff, etc.

After the feast, the village and temple functionaries come to the house of the deceased and keep flowers used in the worship on the head of all the relatives of the deceased. This rite is known as *sopang forsemig*. When any of these relatives goes to the place of pilgrimage (*tithang*) he takes with him the flower on his head. At this time the musicians play the instruments. They are also served with food and wine.

After a year they perform a ritual called *kotangehudenbimig*. In this ritual, relatives of all the persons died within a year, go to a fixed place in *kanda* land (*kotangch*) early in the morning carrying *poltu halwa*, fruits, etc. *kotangch* is a stone slab where they erect flag and place some food-stuff for the departed soul. After the offering the food articles are distributed among those who are present there particularly among the young boys and girls. All of them come back to their respective houses after this ritual. And this marks the end of the funeral ceremony of the Kinnaurese.

Some idea about the mortuary rites as existed in the past in Kinnaur can be had from the Gazetteer of the Simla Hill State 1910. The said Gazetteer states, "At the death-bed grain is distributed to all persons present and all Lamas present receives at least one rupee each. They read suitable passages from the Buddhist sacred books. The body is burnt on the same or the next day. It is taken to the burning ground to the accompaniment of drums and other musical instruments such as *sanai kannal* and conch. After the body is consumed some of the bones are gathered up and taken either to Mansarovar in Tibet or to Rawateswar in Mandi or to the Ganges. For seven days a lamp is kept alight in the room where the death occurred and incense burnt. Three days after the death a ceremony called *chholpa* is performed which corresponds to the Hindu *kirya karm*".

"There is a group of five constallations which is called *panchaka* and in which it is considered extremely unlucky for the family to have a death. The five are the latter part of *Dhanistha shatbhisha*, *parobhadrapada uttarabhardrapada* and *revati*. If a person dies in these his relatives make idols or images of *sattu ryud* as they call it (parched grain ground and made into a paste with water) and burn these with the body uttering special chants the while".

"Fifteen days after the death the Lama does some *hom* and *puja* and recites chants for purification. This ends the first of mourning, and Lama once more receives a fee".

"A year later the Lama receives food and clothes in the name of the deceased, at the *phulech*. This finally ends the period of mourning, during which no new clothes or ornaments are worn by the deceased's family".

"Burning grounds are popularly supposed to be haunted by super natural beings which are variously termed Mashan, Rakshas, Shyuna and Kharshyima. The two former names are applied to actual gobbins or demons, and the latter to casual ghosts" (1911 : 36-37).

On the other hand, the death ceremony of lower Kinnaur was a bit different from that of the upper Kinnaur as mentioned about. In lower Kinnaur, "The Kanet keep the corpse in the house for two or three days and have music incessantly. It is then taken to the burning ground, accompanied by all men and women in the neighbourhood dressed in their best, and by a band of musicians. All costly clothes are taken off the corpse before it is burnt. There is no *kapal kiria* (striking the head of the corpse by a relative), and the ashes are usually thrown into some local stream, though well to do people sometimes carry them to Hardwar. A goat is sacrificed and eaten any time after three days from the day of death then the period of mourning comes to an end. Sometimes a goat is killed at the moment when the body is taken out to be burnt, and eaten on the return from the burning ground. *Shradhs* (Protatory services and offerings to the soul of the dead) are not held monthly, but are performed after six months, one year and four years. *op. cit.* : 43).

Nature and extent of social change

Not only during pre-independence period but also even till mid-fifties, this Himalayan district of Kinnaur in Himachal Pradesh was almost isolated. It had very little link with the main land of India albeit, it is a part of India. During the pre-independence period, it was under the administrative control of the king of Bushahr Estate. After independence, it came under the control of Government of India. With the formation of a separate district under Himachal Pradesh in 1960, it actually attracted the attention of the Government, and actual developmental works started thereafter. With the opening of the road connection with the main land, the people of this district started facing the different external forces which ultimately brought various changes in their socio-cultural life.

As already discussed the Kinnauri society, particularly of Zone II and III and partly of Zone I is divided into two broad divisions—the *khosia* and the *Beru*. The division *Khosia* which includes the Rajput, is further divided into three status groups, the *orang*, the *maorang* or *orang-Mech* and the *waza*. These sub-divisions were earlier strictly endogamous. But now-a-days the strictness of that social legislation has much been relaxed. Now the inter-status group marriage is taking place. The marital alliance between the *orang* and the *maorang* is not uncommon. And marriage with these two status groups and the *waza* is also taking place, though of rare occurrence. In the present days, the rule of status group endogamy has been replaced by inter-status group marriage and status group morbidity. That means now two different status group can marry and if several marriages take place between two different status groups in the same or successive generation, then either the *khandan* or household concerned of the lower status group moves up to a higher status or the *khandan* of the household concerned of the higher status group is degraded into a lower status.

The *khandan* system has also undergone changes. Though the rule of *khandan* exogamy is still strictly observed, yet the hierarchy among different *khandan* is slowly but gradually diminishing. Unlike in the past when the key position of the village functionaries were monopolised by the superior *khandan* in the present days this supremacy of the superior *khandan* is gradually losing ground. These days the inferior *khandan* are being elected or selected as functionaries in various socio-religious and political institutions.

As already stated, the *khandan* still today are following the rule of exogamy strictly. The breach of this rule is absent. But restriction which barred the marriage between the *khandan* of different status groups or *khel* is getting relaxation along with the relaxation of the rule of *khel* endogamy.

All these changes in the social structure of the Kinnaurese, are true for the Rajput of Zone II and Zone III. These changes are not present in Zone I as Zone I does not have these systems, *i.e.*, *khel* and the *khandan* systems. But now changes can be traced in this zone also. All these social divisions, like the Khosia and the Beru the *khel* and the *khandan* systems of the Khosia were absent in Zone I. But in recent years we can trace the existence of these social units. In different areas of Pooh sub-division at least the *khandan* system has come into being though of rudimentary type. The distinction between the Khosia and the Beru is more clear these days.

Quite a significant change is noticed in case of marriage. The dominance of *zanekang* type of marriage, *i.e.*, customary marriage by negotiation has almost been replaced by the marriage by elopement (*dab-dab* or *khuchis*). Economic motive might be the main reason for this change, as the former type of marriage requires involvement of heavy expenditure while the latter type requires less expenditure. Even in the latter type, while formal marriage ceremony used to take place earlier after the finalization of the elopement case, now-a-days many couples do not perform the marriage rites even though they are required to do these. They go on living like husband and wife. After finalization of the elopement case, they promise for the performance of the marriage rituals, but actually do not perform sometimes even in their life time due to their economic depression. Ultimately the society accepts it. Significant change has occurred in case of one of their basic social institutions, the polyandry. Not only the frequency of polyandry, which as the customary marriage system, has decreased by the very notion of the people towards polyandry, particularly that of the younger generation, has markedly changed. They no longer keep fascination on this age-old system. Rather these days they advocate for monogamy. Even in the olden days, many people specially the educated and enlightened ones, in order to avoid this plural marriage, used to declare themselves unmarried throughout their life and used to go outside Kinnaur leaving the native home for ever and married there monogamously. Further it is also seen that while in the past the

marriage by elopement (*dab-dab* or *khuchis*) also led to polyandry, at present, in many cases it results to monogamy. That means, in the past if one of the brothers used to marry for the second time, by elopement, his wife was considered as a common wife for all. The reasons put forward for this system was that the *izyat* money was paid from the common family fund. So all the brothers had right over her. But now-a-days many persons consider the woman eloped by a person as his own wife in spite of the fact that the *izyat* money and wedding expenditure born by the family, particularly when this person is much younger than his other brothers and when the difference of age between him and the first common wife is definitely much. The other brothers sometimes do not claim their right over this new wife; but if they at all do claim, this brother either lives separately leaving the core household or surrenders to the will of the other brothers.

As there has been changes in the marriage pattern, the changes have also set in the family structure. As the number of polyandrous unions is decreasing day by day, the frequency of the polyandrous and polygynandrous households is also decreasing. People are not so particular about the unity and integration among the brothers so as to keep the polyandrous-polygynandrous extended households intact. They are not much afraid of leaving the core household as job opportunity is more in the present days. These days they even press for the partition of parental property among the brothers. The younger generations, in particular, show some inclination towards 'own wife—own house' theory. A young Kinnaurese has started liking the nuclear household where his authority would be supreme, where nobody would dispute his absolute right over his wife and children.

Along with the change of the basic conception and structure of the Kinnaurese household, the size and the composition of the household have also changed. The existing households are not so much bigger in size. With the establishment of the more nuclear households, the number of members in a household has also been reduced. Similarly with the gradual change of the households from polyandrous-polygynandrous types to nuclear type, the composition of the members of the household has also altered. While in the polyandrous-polygynandrous households the brothers with their common wife/wives and children used to live on, in the nuclear households of the present day, the brothers live separately in their respective house with their respective wife and children. That is the brothers now do not form a joint household.

In the kinship system also changes are apparent. The inter-personal relationship in particular has suffered a lot of changes. With the change of marriage and household types, the inter-personal relationship among the brothers and also between the brother-husbands and the wife/wives has changed. Earlier when all the brothers used to marry together and live in a common household, the relationship they used to keep among themselves was definitely somewhat different from that kept by the

brothers of the present day living separately in nuclear household with their individual wife. Identically the set of relationship the brothers used to keep with their common wife in a polyandrous household is definitely different from the same kept by the brothers with their respective household. In a polyandrous-polygynandrous household elder brother's wife or the younger brother's wife is equivalent to one's own wife. But in the nuclear household, own wife is certainly different from elder or younger brother's wife. Similarly, the relation between the father's brothers and the brother's child, that existed in the traditional polyandrous household, has changed as the household changed from polyandrous one to nuclear one.

Earlier, as already stated, this part of India had traditional link with Tibet. The Kinnaurese used to visit Tibet in connection with trade and pasture. The Tibetans also sometimes visited Kinnaur. But with the closure of the border this social attachment that existed between the Kinnaurese and the Tibetans has been severed. With the stoppage of trade and other visits, the social link between the Kinnaurese and the Tibetans has also gone.

POLITICAL STRUCTURE & CHANGE

ADMINISTRATIVE UNITS : PAST AND PRESENT

The district of Kinnaur was a part of the princely State of Bushahr in the pre-independence era. The whole of the Bushahr State was divided into three tehsils, viz., Chini, Rampur and Rohru. Each of these three tehsils—Chini, Rampur and Rohru were again divided into a number of *pargana* or *khunt*, each *pargana* or *khunt* was further divided into a number of *ghori*, and each *ghori* was sub-divided into a number of villages. The Gazetteer of Bushahr, 1910 states, “For the purpose of administration the Bushahr State is divided into three tehsils—Rampur, Rohru and Chini. The tehsils are sub-divided into *parganas*, *parganas* into *ghoris* and *ghoris* into villages” (1911 : 65).

An early account states that the country of Bishchur (Bushahr) may be divided into districts nearly as follows firstly Kunawar; secondly that tract which, including Rampur and Seran, extends down the valley of the Sutlej with smaller glens and ravines that drain into it, thirdly the valley of the Pabur, with all that lies on its left bank and including Sambracote and the smaller ones that debouche from the Moral ridge and snowy hills that river and lastly the Nawur and Teekur valleys with all the intervening tracts between it and the Sambracote valley, where the river takes its decided turn to the south-east (Frazer : 1820 : 262-263). Most part of the district of Kinnaur was under Chini tehsil while the rest (Atharabis and Pandrabis) *parganas* were under Rampur tehsil.

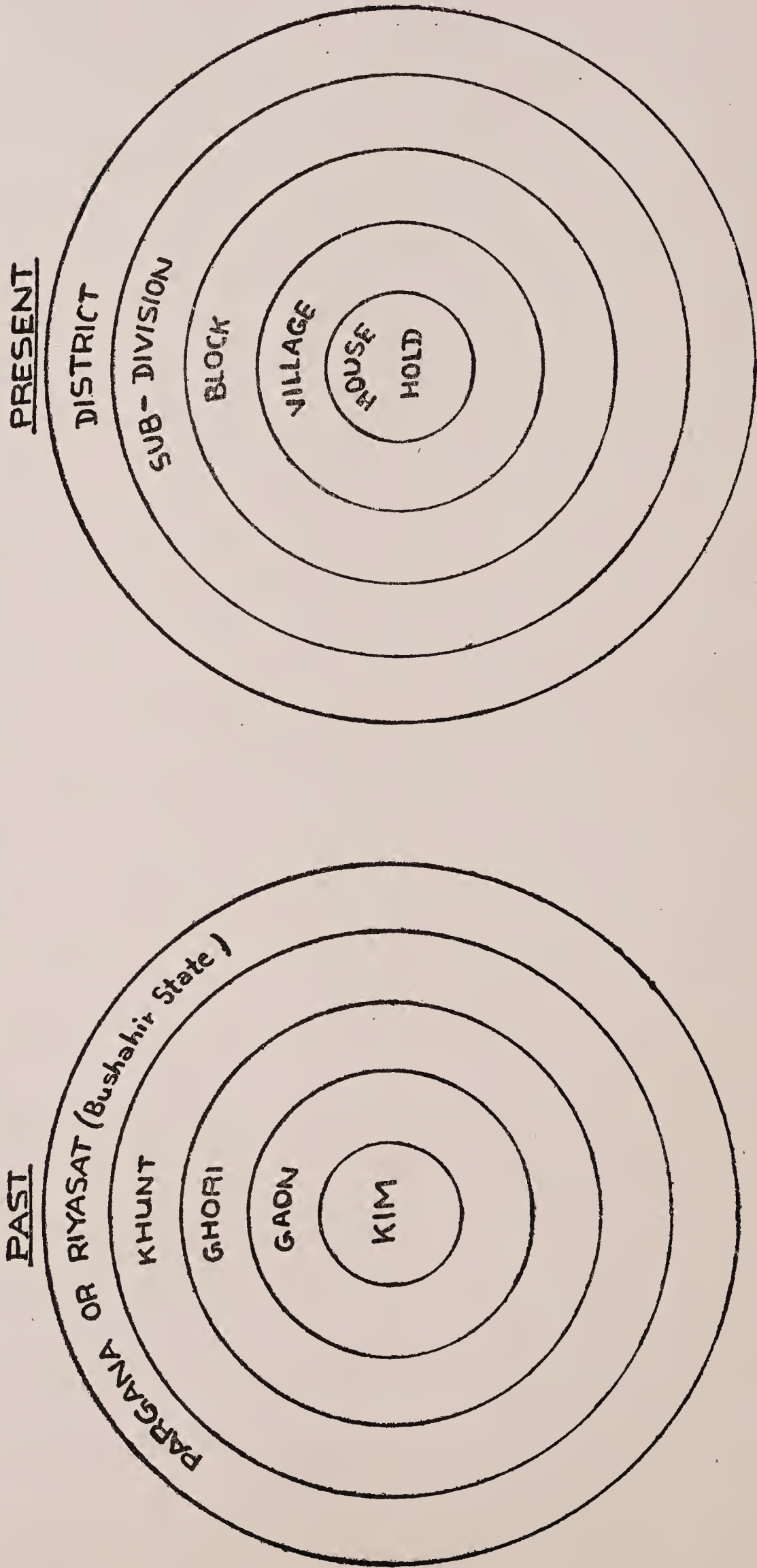
In Kinnaur, there were eight *pargana* situated on both the sides of the river Sutlej. Five of the eight *pargana* such as Sialkar, Shua, Bhaba, Parli Rajgram, and Pandrabis were on the north bank of the river Sutlej while the rest three, Jukpa, Warli Rajgram and Atharabis were on the south. The administrative jurisdiction of each of these eight *pargana* was spread over the following areas :

- (i) Pargana Sialkar—This *pargana* covered almost the whole of Hangrang valley.
- (ii) Pargana Shua—*Pargana* Shua was divided into two parts—*nichla* Shua (lower Shua) and *uparla* Shua (upper Shua). The *nichla* Shua covered the whole area lying between the villages Pangti (about 12 km. from the district Headquarters, Kalpa towards Pooh) and Rogi (about 6 km. from Kalpa towards Wangtu).

The *uparla* Shua, on the other hand, covers the area lying between Pangti and Pooh.

- (iii) Bhaba or Wangpo Pargana—The whole of the Bhaba valley comes under this *pargana*.
- (iv) Parli Rajgram or Upper Rajgram—This *pargana* spreads over the area lying between Wangtu to Mriu.
- (v) Warli Rajgram or lower Rajgram—Warli Rajgram *pargana* covers the whole tract of land spread over between Ramni and Brua villages.

ADMINISTRATIVE SYSTEM



- (vi) Pandrabis Pargana—Pargana Pandrabis has its jurisdiction over the area lying between Rupī and Wangtu.
- (vii) Tukpa Pargana—This *pargana* has two divisions—1. *nichla* Tukpa and 2. *upla* Tukpa. The former division covers the area lying between Brua and Chitkul, and Barang while the latter divisions rests on the area between Barang and Neshang.
- (viii) Pargana Atharabis—*Pargana* Atharabis lies between Chaora and Wangtu.

All these *pargana* were headed by a *wazir*.

Almost the same type of administrative divisions were in existence in Kinnaur for over 130 years ago. Gerard during that period, saw seven such administrative divisions, viz., Hangrang (Tartar), Shooung or Shooe, Tookpa, Rasgramee, Wangpo, Atharabis and Pandrabis. All these divisions were further sub-divided into smaller units. Hangrang was divided into three smaller sub-divisions like Nako, Chango and Hango ; Shooung was sub-divided into Gungel, Soomcho, Zhungram and Yooshoung, Tooka covered sub-divisions like Sgeenam, Reedung, Tangling and Kumroo, Rasgramee had two sub-divisions, Orlee Rasgramee and Purlee Rasgramee, Wangpo had sole sub-division Wangpo, Atharabis was constituted of Buree, Nalche, Grosnam, and Trade sub-divisions and Pundrabees consisted of Roopee and Kambee sub-divisions.

As stated earlier, Kinnaur was under the state of Bushahr which was headed by the King of Bushahr. A glimpse over an early account gives us an idea of the old administrative set up that existed about 150 years back. It states, "Bischur is governed by a rajah whose office is hereditary, and it appears, that under him the different districts have always been regulated by the hereditary chiefs, who have assumed the title of Wuzzeer, and exercise their separate authority. They assess and collect the revenue, and settle minor dispute, but the rajah has always been Lord paramount, and looked up to with perfect submission" (Fraser : 1820 : 269)

In a later period, 18 years after Frazer, Hutton found that the Raja of Bushahr had three *wazir* who used to manage the administration of the their respective territory (*tehsil*). They also used to take the command of the armed forces during the war. These three *wazir* had the same administrative position and equal official status. Their office was hereditary. These *wazir* used to run the administration through a number of sub-ordinate officials also called *wazir*. Unlike the three senior *wazir*, the office of these junior *wazir* was not hereditary. These officials were either elected or selected by the king. Their term lasted for only a year. The king usually selected these officials every year. Besides, the king had two sets of attendants, the *churriahs* and *hazrees*. The duties of the *churriahs* were the same as those of a *chupprassi* and he was sent to different *pargana* to collect revenue and to report any misconduct. Their duty was also to see that the people were equitably assessed, that is, to point out who was to be taxed heavily, and who was to be excused.

These attendants were not paid by the King and over and above, their services were obligatory. The *churriah* was constituted of sixty to eighty men who were led by three officials called *pulsur*, *buttoonggee* and *negi* whose status was equivalent to *subedar*, *jamadar* and *burkumdanze*. These officers were exempted from the military services and remained with the King.

The *hazree* was comparatively a large body than the *churriah*. They consisted of one hundred and forty men. Their duty was to guard the King or to act as *chaukidar*, albiet they sometimes used to perform the same duties as those performed by the *churriahs*. This body of *hazree* was headed by an officer called *gooldar*. The *hazree* were paramilitary in nature and used to join in the regular army during the out break of war (Hutton : 1838 : 10-16).

In Kinnaur, each village was constituted of a village council called *charbhai*. This council was membered by a *mukhiya*, a *char*, a *halmandi* and a *toknya*. Of these four members, the former two, i.e., *mukhiya* and *char* were Rajput by caste and the latter two, i.e., *halmandi* and *toknya* were represented by the lower castes or the *harijan*.

Besides the above village council, each village had another council whose function was to collect land revenue and to try petty cases. The members of the said council who were two to three in number used to sit together sometimes to settle the disputes of the villages. Whenever some dispute—social, economic or religious—used to occur between two or more villagers they used to appeal to the council to decide the case. The council, on hearing the explanations and reasons given by both the parties and also by judging various circumstances and the views of the witnesses, deliver the judgement. Both the parties were to abide by the said verdict. Of course, the guilty person had the right to go to the king for justice, but in fact to a common people, it was not easy to approach the king. So they had to remain satisfied with the verdict given by the village council or the *charbhai*. Of course, one of the king's officials, the *daroga* was there to look after the justice. He used to visit every village once in a year or two to settle the major disputes. His visit was notified to the village council earlier, and on the day of his visit parties involved in the major dispute were asked to attend the court presided by the *daroga*. The *daroga* used to hear the arguments given by the each member of the party, also other witnesses and then used to judge the merits of the cases. He was assisted by the members of the village council. His discussion was considered as almost final.

During the period of pre-Gorkha war, the administration was run by the king with the help of a number of councilors called *wazir*. The *wazir* was selected from the ablest men of the area. The *sarhaddi wazir* was to look after the frontier areas with the help of enough independent power and authority vested on him. He had been given every authority to preserve the law and order of the area. The office held by him was not hereditary, but was selective. The *wazir* of Poari, Kohal and Shua were the most powerful *wazir*. Their place was next to the king. But this

system survived till the expulsion of the Gorkha. As the Gorkha left Bushahr, this system died out. As the Gorkha were repulsed and sent back the British Government restored the kingdom to Raja Mahinder Singh who, thereafter, started running the administration.

The old village councils were abolished in 1895. The state authority abolished the panchayats because there were specific complaints against these panchayats for giving frivolous judgements and involving in vested interests. These panchayats were replaced by a tehsil which was established at Chini (at present Kalpa). Alongwith the establishment of this *tehsil*, some police personnel for the first time were also posted there to look after the law and order. Later on, Chini *tehsil* which had sixty three villages, was further sub-divided into five *pargana* which were further sub-divided into fifteen smaller units, called *ghori*. In each *pargana*, there was a fort located in the heart of the village with an establishment varying in sizes according to the resources of the tract and the area of state land contained it. In the remote past when the whole state was distributed among some hereditary *wazir* for running the administration, a whole *pargana* was included in a single *wazirat*. The *pargana* had administration identical to that of the *ghori* but a *pargana* usually contained two to five *ghori* in it. A *ghori* in its turn was a collection of villages with a common grazing ground.

During the early twentieth century, a Manager was appointed for the whole State who used to enjoy full criminal, civil and revenue powers. In order to discharge his duties, the Manager used to take the assistance of a number of Naib-Tehsilder who had Class III civil and criminal powers. A Naib-Tehsilder was also stationed at Chini *tehsil*. All appeals from sub-ordinate courts were sent to the Manager who would sit in the State Headquarters equipped with a full treasury, a record room, Kanungo's office and judicial establishment. The State authority was assisted by the field Kanungos, and six Patwaris stationed at different tehsils. The tehsils were equipped with a small sub-treasury.

As already stated the *tehsil* Chini was divided into a number of *pargana*. Each such *pargana* was headed by an official known as *dashong*. As a remuneration to discharge his duties, the *dashong* was paid at a rate of one percent of the revenue of his charge. To collect the revenue the *dashongi* was helped by a number of *char* or watchman each of whom was allotted the task of collecting revenue from a village. The remuneration for the *char* was equal to one percent of the revenue in his charge.

Till 1915 the Manager's court was the only court in the State of Bushahr with full powers. Even the king did not have full power during British period though he was the head of the State. Only in 1915, the king was vested with Class I criminal and civil powers by the Superintendent, Simla Hill States.

But when the Chini *tehsil* with some adjustment became a full-fledged district, in May 1960, the set up of its administration was altogether changed. The new administration was established to suit the adminis-

trative and developmental needs peculiar to this Himalayan tradition to ensure the rapid development of his backward border district and the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes living therein.

Before Himachal Pradesh attained the Statehood, a special unit directly under the Secretary to the Lieutenant Governor (Border) who functioned as the *Ex-Officio* Secretary (Border), was set up, and this unit maintained liaison with the district administration at one hand and with all the departments of Himachal Pradesh government and the Central Government which concern the border affairs, on the other. But the attainment of Statehood of Himachal Pradesh on January, 25, 1971 changed this structure. The general administration is cared by the Deputy Commissioner, and the district level officers look after the activities of the respective departments.

The district of Kinnaur, at present, is comprised of three sub-divisions of Kalpa, Nachar and Pooh with their headquarters at Kalpa, Nachar and Pooh respectively. Kalpa sub-division has been constituted of Kalpa and Sangla *tehsil*, Nachar of Nachar *tehsil* and Pooh of Pooh and Morang *tehsil* and Hangrang sub-*tehsil*. Each sub-division acts as a Tribal Development Block and is headed by a Sub-divisional Magistrate.

Village council : past and present

As already stated in olden days, the day-to-day village administration was run by the village council or *charbhai*. But, sometimes, besides the caste council the deities of Kinnaur also performed the role of the judges. As the *devi/devta* had absolute control over the Kinnaurese, the latter always approached before the deity for the solution of conflict if the caste council failed to decide the case satisfactorily. Usually when a conflict between two persons concerning any economic, social, religious or other affair, they at first, would approach the village council who used to hear the explanations and arguments of both the parties and also of other witnesses. Then the council used to judge the case and give the verdict. If they failed to come to a definite conclusion and to give the verdict or if either or both the parties are not satisfied with the verdict, then as the last resort they used to approach the deity. They used to request the *mathas* to narrate the incident to the deity and give her verdict. The *mathas* used to narrate the whole incident to the deity while the deity was being lifted in her palanquin by the palanquin bearers. After the *mathas* finished his narration, the deity gave her verdict on the case through *grokch*. The nature of punishment for the guilty person/persons was mentioned. The verdict of the deity was final. Both the parties would have to comply with the verdict given by the deity. No appeal to any authority against the verdict of the deity was feasible as the verdict of the deity was regarded as supreme. The guilty person or persons were punished with ex-communication or fine considering the severity of the crime. Even these days in spite of the functioning of the Naya Panchayat, the people of Kinnaur go to the deity to solve their dispute.

The monastery, particularly in Pooh sub-division, had much to do in the civil as well as judiciary system of the people of that area. It was sometimes seen that the head lama of a monastery acted as the judge and tried the case of the breach of socio-religious rule or economic conflicts of the villagers. If a person was found to break some social norm or religious code or if two persons involved in dispute regarding some land or other economic affairs, the case was referred to the *lama* for a divine decision. After consulting some other senior *lama* and also some other village elders the head *lama* used to decide the case. The verdict of the head *lama* was definitely final as it was thought that the verdict had come from the almighty because the *lama* possessed some divine power and he had the ability to consult the supreme being when some crisis arose.

As already stated the socio-political control in every village of Kinnaur in the past rested on the village council called *charbhai* headed by the *mukhia* or the headman. The *charbhai* consists of a few members, besides the *mukhia*. The other members of these council were *char*, *halmandi* and *toknya*. During session some elderly and experienced persons of the village were also invited to participate in the deliberation of the council. Usually both the higher and lower (untouchables) castes were represented in the council. The posts of *mukhia* and *char* always belonged to the higher caste or the Rajput. But either the post of *halmandi* or the post of *toknya* was usually filled up from the lower castes or the untouchables. Though sometimes both the posts were filled in by them. The elderly persons who used to take active part in the deliberation of the council were usually the members of the dominating caste, i.e., the Rajput. The structure of this socio-political unit was uniform almost all over Kinnaur. The term of office of the *mukhia* and the three other members had not been defined. The termination of the incumbent from the office depended most on the necessity felt by the village deity. If any of the members including the *mukhia* was found guilty of the breach of social or religious rules, he used to loose the right to decorate the post. In such a case, he was usually removed from the office and another man was chosen to hold the said post. Usually in this case the verdict from the deity was taken. The case was put before the deity by the *mathas* in details. The deity after judging the facts, used to disclose her verdict through the *grokch*. If the deity considered the fault of the person as severe he or she ordered for the removal of the person from the office, and the order was carried out with immediate effect. So the deity (*devi/ devta*) was the chief agency to take decision in such affairs.

Of course, it is not very easy to remove a member of a council. In that case, the council would have to consider the fact that showed the member's fault. Then a resolution would have to be moved in the council which after proper consideration of the case, would deliver its judgement proving the member as guilty. But before the judgement was delivered, the council would take the consensus about the merit of the case from the villagers. After this when the council decided the case, the *mukhia*

on behalf of the council requested the *pujar* of the temple to know through proper ritual the will of the deity in this regard. The difficulty that council faced was the opposition of a section of the people against the censure motion to impeach a member. It was all the more difficult to take any disciplinary action against a *mukhia*.

When a case is put before the council, the *mukhia* after consulting three other members used to fix the witnesses and the villagers were informed about the date for the hearing of the case. The messenger generally carries the instruction from the council. This messenger was not a member of the *charbhai*. He had no right in deciding the case. He simply acted as the messenger of the council and informed the parties involved in the case and also the villagers. His duty was simply to assist the *mukhia* and other council members. This man was nominated by the council.

The political stratifications indicated clearly the position of various functionaries in the *char bhai* or traditional village council. Undoubtedly, the *mukhia* enjoyed the highest status. He had more rights and privileges. All the inhabitants of the village accepted this fact and no body had any right to dispute it. The villagers paid their regards and respects to the *mukhia*. In some cases as the *mukhia* was conscious about his higher position, he sometimes decided minor disputes of the villagers independently without consulting all other members or without calling the formal meeting of the council. The other members usually did not object to it. When the *mukhia* remained absent from the village and if an urgent meeting was required during that period, the *char* used to take the chair and preside over the meeting. But otherwise he did not have those extra facilities as enjoyed by the *mukhia*.

The selection of the members of the village council used to take place on an auspicious day. Much before the time of the selection, the villagers in their colourful costumes used to assemble near the village temple. As the auspicious moment came the temple priest started chanting incantations. Thereafter, the palanquin bearers lifted the deity on the palanquin in a peculiar way. The *mathas* then requested the deity (*devi/devta*) whether the village required the council or not. The deity then through the peculiar movement of the palanquin, which was only understood by the *grokch*, delivered her verdict. Realising the nature of the verdict the *grokch* interpreted the same. If the deity thought that the constitution of the new council was essential, the temple functionaries went on with their proceedings. If the verdict was negative, the proceeding was discontinued at that point. In case of the affirmative verdict, the *mathas* asked the next question to the deity in presence of the villagers. The next question was whether the deity was willing to select the office bearers. The question was, of course, obvious as office bearers would be required when the deity had given consent regarding the formation of the council. Still the question was put. As the deity gave the consent through the *grokch*, the *mathas* put the next question about the deity's choice for a particular person for the post of *mukhia*. The person who fell in the

choice of the deity, would be selected as the *mukhia*. The *grokch* uttered the will the deity and disclosed the name of the person. With great rejoice the villagers accepted and welcomed their new secular leader. In an identical way, the *mathas* requested the deity to disclose his/her desire whether the post of *char* would be filled in or not. As the deity gave consent through the *grokch* the *mathas* then required the deity to disclose the identity of the person to be selected. The deity then disclosed the name of the person of choice through the *grokch* and the villagers accepted him with great rejoice. In an identical way, the deity selected the other two members, *halmandi* and *toknya*. The inhabitants of the village accepted the will of the deity with great joy and enthusiasm and welcomed the new members of the village council (*charbhai*).

When the selection of the members of the *charbhai* was over through the super-natural means, members being moved by the warm welcome of the villagers paid their tribute to the deity and made oath that they would perform their duties with all sincerity and devotion. The whole village was charged with joy and a feast was thrown to the newly selected members. The feast usually consisted of *chhang* (local wine), *poltu*, meat etc. Meanwhile, when the feast was under preparation the prominent persons of the village look the selected members to the government/state Officials like the Patwari, Tehsilder and others (if they were in the closeby, otherwise the party went in the following day) for formal introduction. The officials also greeted them and advised them to go on performing their duties with greater responsibility. On return from the government/state official the party sat for the feast with other villagers. It was an occasion for great joy to the villagers.

The members of the *charbhai* used to keep close connections with the Government Officials like Tehsilder, Patwari etc. because those government/state officials depended on this council members for the assessment and collection of the revenue. The *mukhia* and other member used to play key roles in this affair. So in order to collect maximum revenue the government/state officials had no option but to depend on them. Identically, the villagers also depended on the advice and help of the *mukhia* and the council members for their sorrows and miseries, joy and happiness. Similarly, it was the duty of the *mukhia* and the council members also to look after the welfare of the villagers. They were also to assist the government/state officials to perform their official duties on the village level. So naturally the *mukhia* and the council members should be the men of integrity. They should have good qualities like truthfulness, sincerity, simplicity, good social background, capability of doing hard work, and above all should have the heart and feelings for doing good to the people. The villagers also want that the men of such qualities should be selected for occupying such key positions in the village. The social position was always given due stress while considering somebody's candidature for *mukhia* and that was why the lower castes and untouchables could not compete for the office of the

mukhia and *char*. Sometimes the expectations of the villagers were not fulfilled as the deity selected some persons for these posts who was not in the utmost choice of the villagers. Still the villagers kept firm faith on the verdict of the deity and accepted the officials with great enthusiasm and loyalty as they believed that when the deity had selected these person they thought to be good.

Usually as member of the village council, woman was never favoured. Rather woman were barred from becoming members of the council. For this disqualification of the woman, the Kinnaurese put forward different reasons. According to the Kinnauri men the women did not have much decision making power. They were unable to give clear and definite verdict. They were not forceful and were incapable of tackling and judging the case clearly and with wisdom. Further they were unable to talk freely and frankly. Moreover, the women have to look after the household, cultivable land and also the children. So after such hard work they would not be able to devote much time for this purpose. Over and above, they remained polluted for a certain period in every month during menstruation. They would not be able to do justice to the office when they remain pregnant. They remained confined to the lying-in-room during child-birth. In spite of all the reasons put forward by the male Kinnaurese it seemed that men in this society, like others in the plains, considered themselves superior and did never appreciate the idea that the cases could be judged and decided by the women. They did not like the idea of men being adjudicated by women.

In case the villagers were not satisfied with the performance of a particular member of the council they used to move together a joint appeal to the *mukhia*, who after decision, as stated earlier moved to the deity. In an auspicious day as decided by the temple functionaries after consulting almanac and supernatural means the deity was taken on the palanquin out of the temple by the palanquin carriers. The *mathas* after completing various formalities, put the appeal of the council on behalf of the villagers to the deity and wanted the final decision of the deity. He also narrated the various complaints of the villagers and also the explanations of the defendant as produced before the council. On listening to the views of the two sides if the deity thought that the defendant was guilty of misconduct and he had not performed his duties, the deity might order through *grokch* for the removal of the member. And accordingly the member lost the right to remain as a member of the *char bhai*. But if the deity gave verdict in favour of the defendant the villagers would have to obey it. And the man concerned continues to be the member of the council.

The procedures as followed by the council in conducting its proceedings, were not very rigid. The council did not have any written code or constitution for the guidance as the norms, customs and the sanctions of the society were quite well known to the people. So the council used to judge the case on the basis of these norms and sanctions. Further,

the council sometimes did not bother much about the quorum. Even in absence of the majority of the council members, the meeting of the council was held. The *mukhia* alone could conduct the meeting in petty cases. Even when somebody lodged a complaint he usually made a verbal complain only. No written complain was usually solicited. So all the council proceedings materialised on the verbal complain of a person. Written complaints or statement and the verbal discussion of the council were also not required nor the proceedings of the court were kept on record. When the proceeding of the council went on, the interested villagers were allowed to attend the meeting, but they did not have any right to take part in the deliberations.

The village council of the Kinnaur used to run without any written code and laws, yet its importance in the life of the Kinnaurese were very marked. The *mukhia* and the members besides their judicial and civil powers used to take much interest in the life and culture of the Kinnaurese. Their involvement in their personal capacity in all spheres of the Kinnaurese life, economic, social, political and religious, was readily seen. No body questioned this, rather everybody welcomed it. In all important events of the village life of Kinnaur the assistance and the participation of these council bearers were inevitable. To organise the worships, festivities, fairs, etc., the role of the *mukhia* and the members was quite important.

When a conflict arose between two persons they first try to solve the conflict either by themselves or with the help of their relatives, friends and villagers. If this effort failed, then only they were advised to move to the council. At the beginning either or both the parties approach the *mukhia* who gave a patient hearing to them. After listening the views of both the parties, he called for the messenger. Through the messenger he first of all, summoned the other three members. When all the members attended him, he discussed the problem with them, and finalised the time and venue for hearing of the case. Usually some open space in the village in front of the temple or monastery or the courtyard of a public place or the courtyard of somebody not involved in the case is considered as the venue for the meeting. The messenger is then instructed to inform the parties involved in the conflict and also the other interested persons and some aged, experienced, and intelligent people of the village regarding the venue and time of the council meeting. The latter group of persons was selected by the council. The messenger accordingly inform them. The witnesses of both the parties were also informed regarding the date and place of the hearing.

On the affixed date and time people mustered strong in the place fixed for the proceeding. The *mukhia* and other council members used to arrive there before time. The parties involved in the case, alongwith their respective witnesses and advisers would assemble there before the arrival of the council members.

When everybody directly or indirectly involved in the case were

present, the *mukhia* declared the cases as open. The *mukhia* then narrated the case in brief. Thereafter, he called the plaintiff to explain the case. The plaintiff after taking oath that he would speak the truth, then disclosed the whole case to the *mukhia* and the council members who gave patient hearing and also sometimes questioned the plaintiff to know the case correctly. When the hearing of the plaintiff was over, the *mukhia* requested him to put his witness for hearing. After taking oath in the name of the deity that they would speak the truth, the witnesses narrated vividly the incident they had witnessed. The court listened to the witnesses and also questioned whenever felt necessary in order to get the truth. As the hearing of the plaintiff and his witnesses was over, the *mukhia* then called the defendant to give his explanation regarding the complaint made by the plaintiff. The defendant then started giving his explanations about the situations. The questions were asked both by the *mukhia* and the council members to the defendant to know the exact incident. At the end of the defendant's hearing, the witnesses on behalf of the defendant were called for hearing. These witnesses gave their version of the fact. They were also questioned by the *mukhia* and other council members.

If the hearing of the case was not over in one sitting then more sittings on different dates were sponsored to complete the hearing.

When the hearing was over, the *mukhia* started consultation with the council members. The elderly experienced and wise men of the village often acted as the consultants. The council used to take advice and suggestions from them whenever required.

After consultation when the council came to a decision, the *mukhia* on behalf of the council delivered the judgement. Punishment given by the council include mostly fine. In extreme cases ex-communication was imposed on the guilty persons. The convicted person had to deposit the fine to the council or to arrange a feast within a specified time. If the convicted person was to deposit the money to the council, then the latter used to make necessary arrangement for the feast. Besides, the expenditure on the entertainment during the sitting of the council was borne by parties involved in the case. The deliberation of the council was never made in camera and was never kept a secret.

If either party was not satisfied with the verdict given by the council, it reserved the right to appeal to the village deity. Similarly, if the council failed to come to a definite conclusion, the parties might approach the deity. In that case that party would have to appeal directly or through the council to the *pujar*, the temple priest. If the priest was satisfied with the merit of the case, he accepted the appeal of the party. An auspicious date was fixed by the priest after consulting the religious books, etc. The expenditure incurred for lifting the deity from the temple for this purpose (a worship was to be made and a sacrifice was to be offered if the deity was lifted for any purpose other than the usual festivals) was to be borne by the party/parties lodged complaint to the deity. On the

affixed date the palanquin carriers lifted the deity in its palanquin on their shoulders. Soon after they got possessed and moved the palanquin according to the will of the deity. Both *grokch* and the *mathas* used to utter spells and *mantras* while touching the deity. After a while when the palanquin bearers got possessed by the spirit of the deity, the *mathas* explained to the deity the complaint made by the party and requested her to decide the case. The other party also explained its view to the deity through the *grokch*. On hearing both the parties, the deity decided the case. The decision of the deity came through the *mathas*. The decision of the deity was final though of course, one has the right to appeal against the decision of the village deity to the higher deity like the *ghori* deity or the *khunt* deity. But that was done when the case was very important. Actually the *ghori* and the *khunt* deities used to entertain those cases which were of wider importance.

The Himalayan district has come under the fold of statutory Panchayat Raj system as early as 1956. Both the Gram Panchayat and the Naya Panchayat have been constituted in order to bring the administration to the grass root level. As a result of this administrative measure, the local self government has reached in the village level. Now-a-days the village or Gram Panchayat is functioning in every village of Kinnaur. The members of these Gram Panchayat are duly elected by the villagers. The villagers now have got every liberty to select their own representatives according to their choice and desire. The election of such representatives in the Gram Panchayat brings tremendous enthusiasm and excitement among the local people. Quite a few days before the day of election the activities of the people and the parties start. The candidates and their supporters start the campaign. The people are approached by the supporters of one party or a candidate to vote for their candidate. Lectures are also given by the candidate and his supporters to throw light on their manifesto and also to emphasise the merits and the qualities of the candidate. At the same time, efforts are being made there to disclose various defects and faults of the opponents and also to malign them. However, on the date of election particular activities and the enthusiasm of the public as also the supporters are seen. With the declaration of the name of the winning candidate, a great jubilation is observed among the supporters and the local people. They sometimes come out with a procession and move around every nook and corner of the village. The villagers receive the newly elected candidate with great regard. Sometimes a feast is given to the newly elected candidate on behalf of the supporters and also the villagers. So they pass that day with great jubilation. Gradually this rejoice subsides and the village returns to normal life.

Sometimes, the jubilation of the winning party creates annoyance to the defeated party. The win of one candidate or party over another, merges the members of the defeated party and supporters of the defeated candidate in utter dismay. This sometimes creates conflicts between

the two parties. However, this conflict does not remain alive for a long time and gradually the situation gets normal.

The Gram Panchayat in Kinnaur consists of fixed number of members. It is similar throughout the district. The number of members of all the Gram Panchayat throughout of district is the same. The Gram Panchayat is headed by the Pradhan (President). The Upa-Pradhan or Vice-President is there to assist him. The members are represented by both Scheduled and non-Scheduled castes. There will be at least one member from the Scheduled Caste groups as they represent the weaker section. Similarly, there is at least one member to represent the fair sex of the village. All the members are elected.

Sometimes the one Gram Panchayat covers more than one village while there are some other Gram Sabha which include only one village. The Gram Sabha of Chango include three villages, Chango, Shialkar and Sumra. Similarly, the Gram Panchayat Sangla under Kalpa sub-division, includes Sangla, Batseri and Morang villages. The Kongos village is included in the Nachar Gram Sabha. But Pangi Gram Sabha includes only Pangi village.

As already said the Scheduled Castes have their representatives in the Gram Sabha. There are some Gram Sabhas where they have single representative while in some other they have number of representatives. In Pangi Gram Panchayat there is only one Scheduled Caste member a Koli, but in the Gram Sabha of Chango they have two representatives, one Koli from Chango and one Lohar from Shialkar. In Sangla Gram Sabha, there are three Scheduled Caste members and all are Koli.

Identically, there is no fixed number of members from the tender sex. In some Gram-Sabha, there is only one female representative while in some other Gram-Sabha they have more than one representative. In Pangi Gram Sabha, there is only one female member but at Chango Gram Sabha, there are two representatives from the womenfolk, both from Chango village. In Sangla Gram Sabha, the membership for the womenfolk is vacant.

In case of Naya Panchayat also, the structure and function of this unit in all the villages of the district are the same. This judiciary unit is represented by the members from different groups of the village and also from both the sexes. Representatives of the Scheduled Castes is there. The jurisdiction of the Naya Panchayat is the same as that of the Gram Panchayat, that means, the same villages as those included in the Gram Panchayat, are included in the Naya Panchayat. The Sarpanch is the chairman of the Naya Panchayat and the Nayeb Sarpanch is his deputy. The rests are Panch or members. In Chango Naya Panchayat, of the 14 members, 7 are from Chango, 4 from Shialkar and 3 from Sumra. Of the 7 members from Chango 6 are Rajput and one Koli; of the 4 members from Shialkar 3 are Rajput and one Lohar and all the 3 members from Sumra are Rajputs. There is only one female member who is hailed from Sumra.

The Sangla Naya Panchayat, at present, has 13 members of which 9 from Sangla, 3 from Batseri and one from Morang. Of these 9 members from Sangla 6 are Rajput 3 Kolis, and the rest of the representatives from Batseri and Morang are all from the Rajput community. All the members are conspicuously male.

It is important to note that in most of the Gram Panchayats the offices of the Pradhan and Upa-Pradhan are held by the Rajput. Nowhere, the Scheduled Castes have ever own these coveted posts. Similarly, no woman has ever become a Pradhan or Upa-Pradhan. The villagers also do not want the women to hold such important portfolios. Similar is the case with the Naya Panchayat. The Scheduled Castes and the female candidates cannot become a Sarpanch or Nayeb Sarpanch of the Naya Panchayat.

It is also seen that very few members belonging to the Scheduled Caste groups have any significant voice in the deliberation of both Gram and Naya Panchayats. Firstly, they are minority and they are depressed, so their view, if any, gets no importance in the Panchayat. Secondly, most of the members of both Gram and Naya Panchayats belong to the Rajput group who are not only numerically but also economically, socially and politically dominant group. The Scheduled Castes, who are mostly untouchables, remain dependent, at least economically on the well-to-do Rajputs. So in reality these Scheduled Castes are unable to claim their right in the Gram and Naya Panchayats. Practically what they do is to ditto the view of the Rajput in most of the cases and support any resolution put by the Rajput members. They are not politically conscious and so they are afraid to put before the body any of their demands. They open themselves only when they get at least moral support of a good number of the Rajput members.

Similar is the fate of the female members. She actually acts according to the direction of the dominant group. She does not have any significant independent role of her own.

In the Kinnaurese society of the past, the members of the *charbhai* were undoubtedly the leaders to guide their people to the right direction. They were responsible for the social control among the inhabitants of their respective villages. But besides the members of the *charbhai*, there were some other persons with some specific or specialized occupation who were unanimously recognized by the villagers as their leaders. These people are the temple functionaries (*kardar*) such as the *grokch* the *mathas* and the *pujar*, the *lama* of the monastery, the traditional medicine man, the shaman and others. In political field the position of these persons might not be as high as that of the members of the *charbhai*. But definitely they were esteemed higher because of the specialized orientation of the job. The villagers used to bank upon them for their specialized job and definitely took advice and suggestions whenever any crisis arose. In a natural way these experts gave necessary guidance and leadership to the people. When somebody's child was suffering from illness, he used

to go to the medicine man in order get his child cured. If the medicine man failed to cure the child, the father then moved to the *lama* or the *pujar* or the *grokch* for the latter's help in exerting supernatural power to recover the illness of the child. So for illness these people used to guide the villagers. Similarly when some one thought of giving his daughter or son to marriage he consulted these religious specialists for the advice of the supreme being. Even such of their crisis like crop failure or disease of the animals, they took godly advice from this priestly class. Sometimes, some charismatic villager also acted as the adviser and guide to the villagers. For his knowledge and charisma, the villagers used to approach him with various problems and take his advice and suggestions in solving their problems.

Even these days the *mukhia* and the three other members of the *char bhai* have been taken into confidence as the leaders and guide by the villagers. Even these days the villagers go to these persons for advice, suggestions and help to come over various problems faced by them in their day-to-day life. Besides these persons, there is another set of persons, who though new in this territory, but by virtue of their position and status, they have already secured quite a high position in the Kinnaurese society. They are the various government officials, members of the Gram and Naya Panchayat, members of political parties and school teachers. For the position and education of these people, the Kinnaurese who have started lasting the ecstasy of modernisation in recent days due to various developmental and constructional works including transport and communication, are increasingly depending on these government officials, teachers and others. Thus the influence of these people on the Kinnaurese are increasing day by day in making their decisions. The role as played by the *mukhia* and the three other members of the *charbhai* to guide the people of the village, has largely been taken up by the members of the Gram Panchayat and the Naya Panchayat. They now render necessary guidance to the villagers in solving their various problems. This new set of persons which includes various government officials, teachers members of Gram and Naya Panchayat, leaders of political parties and other have even shared the responsibility of the deity (*devi/devta*) in guiding the people to overcome the crisis. Thus a clear change in the leadership in Kinnaur district is apparent.

Politics and religion

The local politics in Kinnaur has much to do in their religion. Particularly in the olden days, the politics had a very important role in shaping the magico-religious practices in this mountainous district. Rather, it may be said that in shaping the political structure, the religious guidance was given to the people in a very tactful way.

As already stated, the whole of Kinnaur was divided into a number of administrative units so as to run the administration more effectively.

These administrative units were *pargana* or *khunt* or *ghori* and village. There were eight *pargana* and each of these eight *pargana* was headed by an officer, called *wazir* or *thakur*. These *wazir* had enough power to control the administration of their respective *pargana*. Again, sometimes, they used to be involved in conflicts among themselves for various reasons and also face aggression from the other *pargana*. As a result they had to remain alert always and have to keep control over the population of the area. Further, the King of Bushahr, who was the head of the State, also had to keep control over these *wazir*, otherwise, there was chance that some of these *wazir* would defy his sovereignty. So he also has to keep control over these *wazir*. In order to control these *wazir*, the king made those persons as *wazir* who were very loyal to him. He gave them very big plot of land and also the power to assess and collect the revenue from the subjects under their control. For this act of the king the *wazir* remained grateful to him. The *devi/devta* complex in Kinnaur and their periodical visits are possibly the outcome of the political dealings of the king over the *wazir* and of the *wazir* over their subjects. Again in order to control them more neatly, visit of the deities were introduced. As the *riyasat* deity (Bhimakali) at Sirahan, the capital of Bushahr, was the supreme, all the *pargana* or *khunt* deity came under her. The *khunt* deities remained bound to listen whatever advice the *riyasat* deity gave. The *riyasat* deity used to express her will through the Brahman who were the mouth-piece of the deity. These Brahman were settled by the king, who gave them quite a good area of tax free land for their service. In addition these Brahman used to get some other facilities. For all these they remained quite loyal to the king.

Again the *khunt* deity had absolute control over the village deity. The will of the *khunt* deity was law to the village deities. The deities of the village under a *khunt* were bound to obey the advice given by the *khunt* deity. After a period, the *khunt* deity used to visit the village deity under it. The village deities in a similar way reciprocated the visit after a certain period.

The functionaries, particularly the *pujar*, the *grokch* and the *mathas* were all Rajput. They also belonged to the superior *khandan* and superior *khel*. The *wazir* were also belonging to the superior *khandan* and superior *khel*. Now, as the ordinary villagers could not approach the deity directly nor could he hear the will of the deity directly from the deity, he had to depend on these functionaries, particularly the *pujar*, the *grokch* and *mathas*. They depended on the *pujar* because he would fix up the date when the deity would be lifted and worshipped, or the *grokch*, the oracle, who would speak to the deity on their behalf and on the *mathas* who would disclose to them the will of the deity because he was the only person who could hear the will of the deity directly. So whenever the village faced problems and crisis, the villagers used to remain depended on these divine functionaries. The villagers had to accept whatever the deity used to tell them through its mouth-piece,

the *grokch*. That is in response to their question or prayer, whatever the *grokch* used to tell them as the will of the deity, they had to accept that as the divine will and thereby had to be obeyed.

Possibly through these deities and their mouth-piece the temple functionaries, the King used to reign over the *wazir*, and the *wazir* in their turn, over the villagers. It was quite probable that as the people had firm faith on their deities, this situation was exploited by the authorities. It was highly probable that in order to keep his control over the *wazir* the King used to express his desires through the oracles of the deity.

Trends of change in political structure

After independence in 1947 till this day undoubtedly Kinnaur's political and administrative scenes have undergone certain changes. Before independence this part of the country was under the princely State of Bushahr. The King of Bushahr was the statutory head of the state. But after independence when this princely state became the part and parcel of Himachal Pradesh, the Union Territory, Kinnaur became the part of Mahasu district. Only in April 1, 1960 it became a fullfledged district.

So this is the change in the district level administration. In the village level also quite marked change is noticed. The traditional village council has been replaced by the statutory *pahchayat* system. *Charbhai* has gone and Gram Panchayat and Naya Panchayat have come up. Though *charbhai* is still in existence in the villages, its importance definitely has much been curbed. It has almost become functionless. On the other hand, the statutory Panchayat system which includes both Gram Panchayat and Naya Panchayat has become much popular. People prefer to go to Gram Panchayat or Naya Panchayat to their traditional *charbhai*.

The importance of the deity (*devi/devta*) as the administrative head has much been subsided. For various purposes people now go to experts without going to the deity. Now-a-days they go to the modern medical practitioner or a hospital for treatment instead of going to the village medicine man or a quack or the *lama* or even to the deity. Similarly they like to go to the law courts for justice and avoid the deity. The *lama* of the monastery or the temple functionaries like the *pujar*, the *grokch* and the *mathas* do not have the same hold as they had earlier.

Same sort of change has come in the leadership too. In recent years various emerging elites consisting of the government officials, school teachers, political leaders, service holders and others are giving leadership to the Kinnaurese. Those traditional officers who were earlier recognised by the Kinnaurese as their leaders, have been left behind. People now prefer the leadership of the educated people and seek advice from them.

The political parties (Congress and Lok Dal) have opened new horizon before these people. These parties have infused in them the new

ideologies and the values and codes which so long guided their political organisation have become considerably modified.

In an identical way various new legislations of the welfare state have changed their basic outlook. The rights and privileges given by the constitution to the Scheduled Tribes, Scheduled Castes and the Backward Classes and areas, the various Land Reform Acts, Laws against social inequality, etc., have brought a number of changes in their customary norms and values.

This change in their political outlook has not only widened and reshaped their political beliefs but at the same time, has also shaken the age old foundation of the social, economic and religious life. Economic changes due to political motivation have brought economic aspiration. Further, socio-political consciousness due to the political change caused various changes in the social and religious values and has developed a new sense of national integration.

RELIGIOUS STRUCTURE & CHANGE

MAJOR RELIGIOUS TRADITIONS

“The district of Kinnaur may be termed as the place of a curious co-existence of two different religions—Hinduism and Mahayanist Buddhism” (Raha : 1974). The presence of these two distinct religions definitely creates much interest among the researchers. If one studies the region of this district it would be clear that two distinct religions have covered the Kinnaurese population and definitely Hinduism is playing the dominant role out of these two. On the basis of the distribution of the religions in Kinnaur this district as mentioned earlier can be divisible into three well demarcated zones. Hinduism is dominant in Nachar sub-division while Pooh tehsil Hangrang sub-tehsil and parts of Morang tehsil of Pooh sub-division are Buddhist strongholds. On the other hand in the whole of Kalpa sub-division and parts of Morang tehsil of Pooh sub-division we find Hinduism and Buddhism supplementing each other. A recent official publication also confirms such distribution. “Broadly speaking the people in the Southern part of the district follow Hinduism in the north Buddhism and in the middle a mixture of the two systems is being followed” (1971: 5). It indicates that there is a clear cut dominance of these two religions in two different ends of the district—Hinduism in the south-west and Buddhism in the north-east, the central part being sandwiched by these two religious faiths. Not that this condition holds good for the present only, this condition prevailed even a century and quarter ago. In 1854 Thornton confirms this distribution. According to him, “The religion of Koonawar is Brahminism in the south, in the north Lamaic Buddhism, in the middle a mixture of the two systems” (1854 : 518).

It is, of course, difficult to say which of the two religions, Hinduism and Buddhism existed first in Kinnaur. But it may be probable that in spite of the presence of Hinduism in this region, the dominance of Buddhism was an undeniable fact. Although the Kunawarese were, about 150 years back, recognised as Hindoos by descent and general profession ; they, generally, followed ‘Lama religion’ (Frazer, 1820 : 256-57).

In Kinnaur, according to 1971 census, majority of the total population of 49,835 (85.25%) are Hindu. The Buddhists form only 14.81% of the total population. The frequency of the believers of other religions who are mostly the outsiders is very insignificant. In 1961 of the total population of 40,980, 37,384 (91.22%) profess Hinduism and 3,569 (5.75%) Buddhism. Thus we see that the strength of Buddhism is not much in Kinnaur. However, in Table 43 the distribution of the Kinnaurese on the basis of religion according to 1971 census has been given.

Table 43 clearly indicates that majority (93.41%) of the Buddhists live in Pooh sub-division. Of this sub-division 53.05% live in Pooh tehsil, 25.82% in Hangrang and 24.54% in Morang tehsil. In Kalpa

TABLE 43. Religionwise distribution of population according to census 1971

	Hinduism		Buddhism		Other Religions		All Religions	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Kinnaur district	42,486	85.25	7,085	14.22	264		49,835	100.00
Pooh Sub-division	9712	59.17	6,618	40.32	83	0.51	16,413	100.00
	22.86		93.41		31.44			
Hangrang	1,281	3.01	1,829	25.82	15	5.68	3,125	100.00
	40.19		58.53		0.48			
Pooh	2,735	6.44	3,050	43.05	56	21.21	5,841	100.00
	46.82		23.35		0.96			
Morang	5,696	13.41	1,739	24.54	12	4.55	7,447	100.00
	76.49		23.35		0.16			
Kalpa Sub-division	18,646	97.03	444	2.31	127	0.66	19,217	100.00
	43.49		6.27		48.11			
Kalpa	10,546	24.82	121	1.71	122	46.22	10,789	100.00
	97.75		1.12		1.13			
Sangla	8,100	19.07	323	4.56	5	1.89	8,428	100.00
	96.11		3.83		0.06			
Nachar Sub-division	14,128	99.46	23	0.16	54	0.38	14,205	100.00
	33.25		0.32		20.45			
Nachar	14,128	33.25	23	0.32	54	20.45	14,205	100.00
	99.46		0.16		0.38			

sub-division only 6.27% live. Nachar sub-division has a very insignificant strength.

On the other hand of the total of 42,486 Hindus in Kinnaur district, highest concentration (43.89%) is found in Kalpa sub-division. Nachar sub-division grabs the next higher strength (33.25%). The rest (22.86%) of course live in Buddhism dominated Pooh sub-division. That means of the total of population in Pooh sub-division 16,413, *i.e.*, 59.17% are Hindus and 40.32% are Buddhists. At Kalpa sub-division 90.30% of the total population of 19,217 are Hindus and only 2.31% are Buddhists. But at Nachar almost all (99.46%) are Hindus. Here the Buddhists are only 0.16%. That means in both Kalpa and Nachar the contribution of the Buddhists in the population formation is very insignificant. Here it seems important to point out that though the inhabitants of Kalpa sub-division have given declaration as Hindus to the census enumerators, but they still have strong faith in Buddhism besides their deep faith on local Hinduism. Further, it is seen that in Pooh Sub-division (Zone I) 59.17% are Hindus while 40.32% are Buddhists, *i.e.*, the Hindus are the majority and both the Hindus and the Buddhists embrace 99.49% of the total population of the sub-division. In Nachar sub-division (Zone II) on the other hand, 99.46% are Hindus and only 0.16% of the total population of sub-division has embraced Buddhism. Similarly, in Kalpa sub-division also almost all the population (97.03%) have Hinduism as their religion while only 2.31% have been left to practise Buddhism. It shows that in both Zone II and Zone III most of the population have their inclination towards Hinduism.

As stated earlier in most part of Pooh sub-division Buddhism is quite prominent. Buddhism is also found in Kalpa sub-division also, where it co-exists with the local Hinduism. But the whole of Nachar sub-division is wholly dominated by Hinduism. Buddhism is almost absent there. It clearly indicates that besides the two religions, Buddhism and Hinduism in two parts of Kinnaur, the Upper Kinnaur and the Lower Kinnaur, a third kind, an amalgum of the two is found in Central Kinnaur. Here in some cases these two religions run side by side, and sometimes mixed together.

In Kinnaur this religion might have been brought by the Buddhist missionaries who visited north western part of the Himalayas including Ladak, Lahaul and Spiti, Kinnaur and some other areas of the Himalayas on their way back to India from Tibet. In ancient book, Padma bka-btang countries like Zahor (Tibetan for Mandi) and Garzha (Garzha is the local name for Lahaul), etc. were visited by Padma Sambhava, the famous Buddhist missionary.

Hinduism in Kinnaur on the other hand is mostly the result of the Hinduism present in the erstwhile Bushahir State. The kings of Bushahir who were Hindus were responsible for the spread of Hinduism in Kinnaur as it was the part of the erstwhile Bushahir State. Their patronage

promoted the area of Hinduism in Kinnaur though these kings never opposed Buddhism.

As one enters Kinnaur from Simla district and moves towards Pooh sub-division bordering Spiti area of Lahaul and Spiti district of Himachal Pradesh, one passes first through the Hindu dominated areas, then crosses the area with dual religious faiths of both Hinduism and Buddhism and lastly enters into the dominant zone of Buddhism. Thomas observed the same condition more than hundred years ago. He writes, "The gradual transition in ascending Sutlej from Hinduism to Buddhism is very remarkable and not the less so because it is accompanied by an equally gradual change in the physical aspect of the individuals, the Hindus of lower Sutlej appearing to pass by insensible gradation as we advance from village to village till we arrive at pure Tartar population" (1952:109).

Andrew Wilson also at the end of the nineteenth century did not find the existence of Hinduism beyond Jangi village. "The village close by (Jangi) though small,had a Hindu as well as a Lama temple, the former religion hardly extending any further into Himalaya, though one or two outlying villages beyond belong to it.....and beyond that I found only two small isolated communities of Hindu Kunaits, the one at Shaso and the other at Namgia" (1876 : 120). So as one moves from Hinduism dominated lower Kinnaur to Buddhism dominated Upper Kinnaur one comes across such an area where those two religions have met and one meets with the duality of religions. And this sort of the co-existence of two different religions is present in Central part of Kinnaur which covers the whole of Kalpa sub-division and parts of Morang sub-tehsil of Pooh sub-division. Rev. Fichtner in the Simla District Gazetteer 1904, also found the amalgum of these two religions in Kalpa area. "The people of Chini (Kalpa) profess Hinduism and speak a dialect called Kanawari but as Buddhism and Hinduism meet here they have developed many Buddhist customs" (1908 : 31).

The presence of this peculiar co-existence of the two different religious faiths may also probably due to the peculiar location of this district. While it borders with Tibet in its north-eastern part, it meets Simla district (earlier Mahasu district) in south-western region. So it meets with two regions having two distinct culture. Tibet is famous for its Mahayanist Buddhism and Mahasu district which was the erstwhile Bushahir State of which Kinnaur was a part, was a seat of a Hindu King. As a result, the upper Kinnaur came in direct contact with the land across the border where Buddhism was the only religion but the Lower Kinnaur being far away from the Tibet border remained very close to the Hindu dominated Bushahir State of the past. So in those, two regions the likelihood of the existence of two distinct religions was there, and exactly we see that. Buddhism is important in the Upper Kinnaur and Hinduism in the lower Kinnaur.

It is quite obvious that this part of Kinnaur was once dominated by Buddhism, and it definitely influenced the neighbouring areas and as

a result in most part of the Pooh sub-division, at present, Buddhism excels. Gradually, the tentacles of Buddhism started spreading, and as such the Central Kinnaur, at present, focus the existence of this religious faith. It could not reach much beyond Central Kinnaur as the whole area was dominated by Hinduism. The dominance of Hinduism here prevented the further spread of the Buddhism. At the same time Central Kinnaur had Hinduism (local) ever before the advent of Buddhism. As a result in a later period, this area became the melting pot of two different cultures.

Hedin also found this pattern of the regional distribution of the two religious faiths. "In Chini (at present Kalpa) we are now in the district where Lamaism is loosing its hold and Hinduism has the upper hand. Only a quarter of the population is Lamaist, and there is one Lama monastery and two Hindu temples" (Hedin : 1913 ; 111 : 403). This is what Hedin remarked while he came down to Central Kinnaur from Upper Kinnaur on his way from Tibet. Though Buddhism as the dominant faith was found by both Joshi (1911: 527) and Rose (1911: 452), but Atkinson's observation was identical with that of authors mentioned earlier. He found the people of Upper Kinnaur were Buddhists in religion. ".....Buddhism extends down the valley of the Sutlej as far as Sarahan between which and Pangti is a debateable ground common to Hindus and Buddhists" (1882 : 32).

Thus it is seen that the village Pangti which is only 12 km. from Kalpa, the district headquarters, stands as the differentiating line between the two religions. Though at present these two are the only religions among the Kinnaurese, but once in the past, an attempt was made to spread another religion, Christianity. Moravian Mission took the lead. But the attempt proved futile.

However, before we proceed to analyse the two predominant religions, we consider it important to give a brief idea about the religion of Tibet.

Buddhism in Kinnaur

In Kinnaur the people embracing Buddhism belong mainly to two sects, Nyingmapa and Dukpa. A few persons, of course, belong to Gelukpa sect. During our survey (1970-72) it was found that in most of the villages in Pooh sub-division and Kalpa sub-division the dominating Buddhists sects are either Nyingmapa or Dukpa. Only in a few villages the Gelukpa are found. Sen saw lamas in Kinnaur divided into two broad sects, Dukpa and Gelukpa. The number of Dukpa lamas exceeds that of Gelukpa lama and so also their followers (1970 : 151). Actually Sen found Dukpa sect in 22 out of 32 villages and Gelukpa sect in the rest of the 10 villages. Actually only in 3/4 villages one can find Gelukpa sect. Gerard's account also supports our view. He also found Gelukpas in a few villages only (1845 : 117).

In Kinnaur sometimes lamas belonging to Nyingma and Dukpa sects are now-a-days confused with Gelukpas because the lamas belonging to the former two sects go to Dharamshala in Himachal Pradesh the seat of Dalai Lama who is a patron of the latter sect.

Gerard's account on the various lamas of Kinnaur will give us sufficient idea about this priestly class of Buddhism in this area. He writes, "The Lamas in Koonawar are the three sects Geloopa Dookpa and Neengma..... The Geloopas or Gelookpas are reckoned the highest; since the head of their religion at Teshoo Loomboo and Lhasa are of the same sect. They wear yellow cloth garments, and caps of the same of various shapes. The Dookpas are dressed indifferently, but have red caps and the Neengmas wear the same or go bare headed; the two former do not marry but there is no restriction on the Neengmas....." (1849 :117).

As stated earlier a particular form of Buddhism is prevalent in Kinnaur. The centres for this religion are various monasteries (*labrang* and *lakhang*). In many Buddhist Kinnaur villages the entrance is marked by *kankani* or the village gate which marks the boundary of the village. As we cross the village gate and enter inside the village we find the *mane*. A *mane* is a high platform or tomb made of loose stones (slates or pebbles) of various shapes and sizes. No cementation has been done to make these stone pieces fixed. On these stone pieces *om mane padme hum*¹ is inscribed. This is the praise of God sitting on the lotus flower. This very hymn carries significant meaning.

OM is the God and is white
MA, the Titans and is blue
NI, men and is yellow
PAD, the beasts and is green
ME, the ghosts and is red
HUM, hell and is black

It is the custom when one passes by the *mane*, one always keeps it on the right hand side. The next interesting thing is *chorten* or *chosten* which is seen in various directions of the village and also in the individual houses.

Similar type of tomb, *dongten* is also seen here and there like *chorten* this type of tomb is also meant to ward off the evil spirits. Square piles of stones *lapcha* raised on the top of the houses adorned with juniper branches. These are also found on the road sides, marked sometimes with poles or flags. A tuft of black Yak's hair also remains attached to *tharchok* or *darchehot* or prayer flags hoisted on house tops. Both religious tombs and the prayer flag are considered as to act a prophylactic charm against the dread of the ghosts, and the evil spirits. *Dumgyur* is the large prayer wheel often made of brass or

¹ It is interesting to note here that in *Bon (Pon)* religion in Tibet similar type of hymn was present which is *OM Ma-tre Mu-ye Sa-le Du*. Certain deities are represented by the different syllables of the above formula (Bell : 1968b ; 17).

some other metal. It is found to be installed inside a *labrang* or a *lakhang*. Hundreds of pieces of paper on which *om mane padme hum* are written, are pasted on the hollow of the wheel.

The Buddhist temples are found in different villages of both Pooh and Kalpa sub-divisions. Some important of them are mentioned here. *Labrang* is present in Tashigang hamlet of Namgia village, Kanam, Pooh and Nesang villages, *lakhon* is found in Yula, Pangi, Kamru, Sangla, Chango, Maling, Nako, Ribba, Rispa, Thangi and other villages *kangyur*, a type of *lakhang*, is found in Lippa and *goldan chhoika* (another type of *lakhang*) is situated at Lippa in Morang tehsil.

In each monastery the metal idol of Lord Buddha and some of his saints like Sakya Muni, Padma Sambhava, Avalokiteswar and others are found. On the walls and on the roof, paintings of all the incarnations of Lord Buddha have been painted. Besides, various deities, saints and spirits of Buddhist pantheon are worshipped. Some of these are Nam-Chhra who is considered as one of the highest deities. Langan or Chhog-dak is believed to be the deity for removing the obstacles. Tarema or Chhering-ma, is also a powerful deity. Paldan-Lamo is the supreme goddess. The deity of health and long life is Ningmet-Cheebe. At present a tendency is found among the Buddhist Kinnaurese to identify these deities with the Hindu deities. Nam-Chhra is identified with Narayan, Chhok-Dak with Ganesha, Tarema with Lakshmi, Paldan-lamo with Mahakali, Ganbo-Chhang-Dugba with Taradevi and so on. Besides, there is a big host of deities, spirits and saints. Of the various saints, Padmasambhava has been given a high place. But Locharimbochhe is one of the most important incarnations among the followers of Buddhism. Only the Dalai Lama can foresee and identify the Locharimbochhe. When a Locharimbochhe dies, the next one can only be traced out by the Dalai Lama. In the past, Kinnaur district had the privilege of having Locharimbochhe. He was born at Sumra but died some year back. After his death Changjad, deputy of Locharimbochhe, according to custom approached the Dalai Lama and requested him to find out the next Locharimbochhe. The Dalai Lama disclosed the identity of the next one to him and told him that a boy of a Rajput family at Sialkar village (about 8 km. from Chango, a village studied by us) would be the next Locharimbochhe. But this boy lived only for four years. Again the Changjad went to the Dalai Lama at Dharamshala and requested him to find out the next one. Dalai Lama intimated him that the next one would be born in the same family of Sailkar village. It so happened that a boy was born in the same household only three days after his elder brother, the last Locharimbchhe died. The Changjad located the boy and appointed a tutor for this boy for his training. During our fieldwork at Chango village we visited Sialkar. We also visited the said family but unfortunately the boy was sent to Dharamshala for training.

Hinduism in Kinnaur

As already stated, Hindu influence is found to be present in both lower and central parts of Kinnaur (Zone II and III respectively) in the latter area it goes hand-in-hand with Buddhism also. Hinduism has been found to be quite deep rooted in many parts of Pooh Sub-division (Zone I) and even in the Hangrang valley which is considered as the stronghold of Buddhism in Kinnaur.

The central figures of this Hinduism are its numerous gods (*devta*) and goddesses (*devi*). "The *devi-devtas* may be divided into two categories the principal deities and the sub-ordinate deities (Raha : 1975). The deity concerned used to exert its control over the people living in the well-demarcated area over which it also runs the socio-political administration. Once, in the past, when the deity was the socio-religious and administrative head of an area, everything there was done with consent of the deity. Nothing could be done without the approval of the deity concerned. For starting an economic pursuit like trade or migration of sheep and goats, or any special ceremony like birth, marriage, death or any religious festivity, the deity's advice and approval was essential" (*op. cit.*). This past practice is still continued in Kinnaur. "Even now the Kinnaurese are found to take advice and approval of the deity. when they face acute crises" (*op. cit.*).

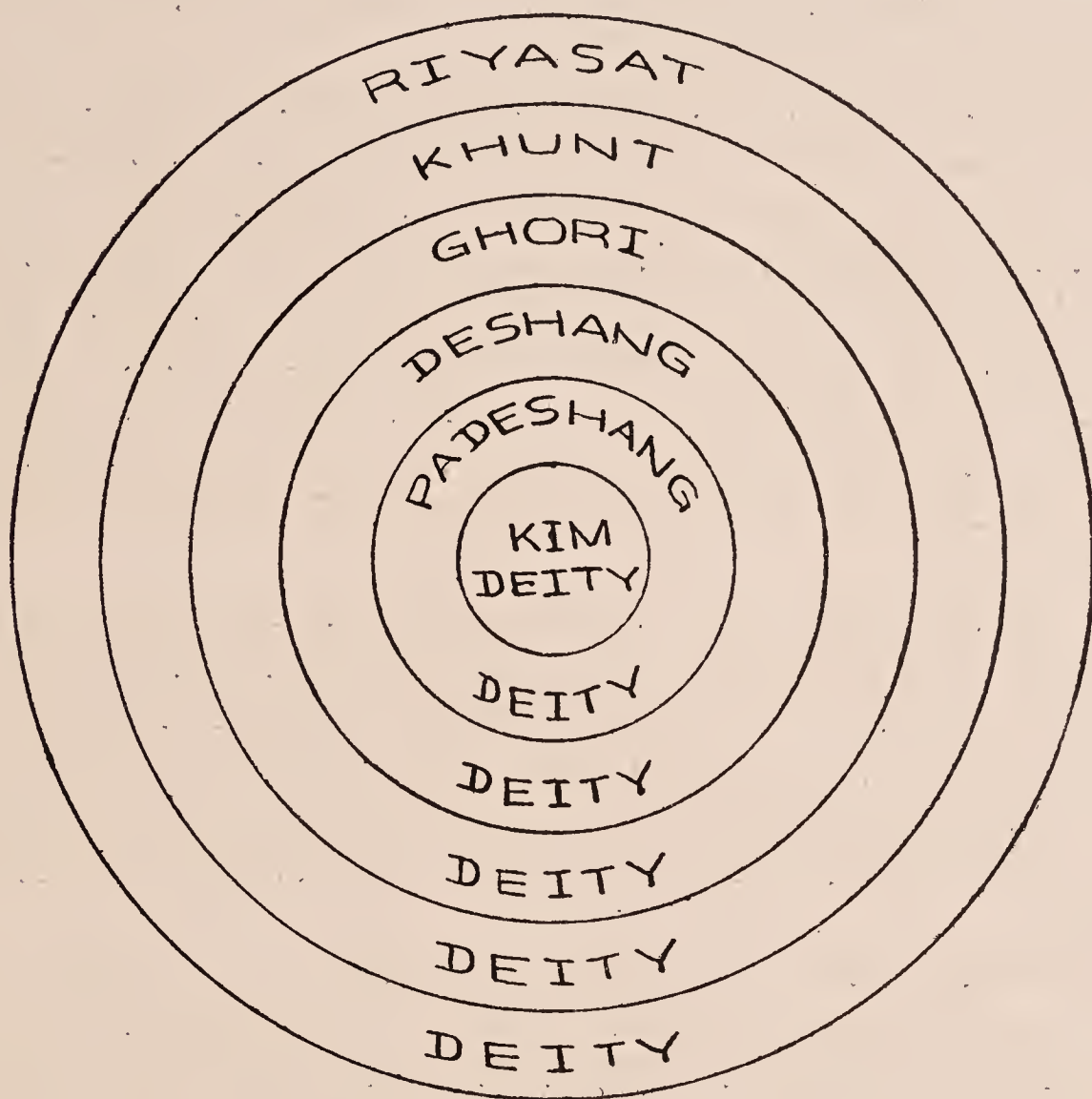
The area over which the principal and the subordinate deity have authority and control, actually coincides with the erstwhile socio-political or administrative divisions of this district when it was under the reign of the Raja of Bushahir. These administrative units are the *khunt*, the *ghori*, the *gaon* and the *kim*, i.e., household. That is from the smallest unit, *kim* or household to the biggest household unit *khunt*, one or other deity has control. In this district each household has got one deity (*devi* or *devta*) which has a general term *kimsu* (*kim*=household, *su*=deity). In the same way each village has one village level deity or *gaon devi* or *devta*. A particular deity is the head of a particular village. The *ghori* which is the combination of several villages has the *ghori devi* or *devta* who has control over all the deities of the villages under that *ghori*. Similarly the *khunt* which is formed of some *ghori*, has one *khunt devi* or *devta*. Usually, a *khunt* is presided over by a principal deity, while the other administrative units have the sub-ordinate deities. As the *khunt* is constituted of some *ghori* so under each principal or *khunt* deity there are some *ghori* deities. Again under each *ghori* deity there are some *gaon* or village deities. And in each household of a village there is one household deity, known as *kimsu*" (*op. cit.*).

The Devi-Devtas and their jurisdiction

Kimsu, the household deity has its control over the members of the household in which it is enshrined. No temple is erected but a place in one corner of the main room is allotted to it. It (*devi* or *devta*) is

worshipped regularly by some of the members of the household, and in some particular occasion, when the household faces some crisis, the deity is specially invoked. The members of one household do not go to the *kimsu* of other household.

DEITY SYSTEM



In *gaon* deity (See Appendix) is the presiding deity of the village. All the *kimsu* are under its control and identically it exerts its authority and power over all the inhabitants of the village. Whenever, a villager faces some bigger crisis, he or she comes to the deity for advice and help to overcome the crisis. The deity has its abode in a temple called *santhang* and a number of functionaries remain attached to this temple to run the administration. Each deity who is either a *devi* (goddess) or a *devta* (god), has its own name, and does not have a common name as in the case of household deity (*kimsu*).

The *ghori* deity (*devi* or *devta*) is recognised by a particular name. As the *ghori* has jurisdiction over the villages under it, the *ghori devi* or *devta* also has control over all the *devi* or *devta* of the villages which come under a *ghori*. Like the village deity, the *ghori* deity also has its abode in a temple. The *ghori* deity is concerned with the welfare of all the inhabitants living in different villages under a *ghori*. It is the duty of the *ghori* deity to see that all the inhabitants of the *ghori* live peacefully

and without sufferings. So whenever they suffer they approach the deity for redressal of sufferings.

In a similar way the presiding deity of the *khunt* is the *khunt* deity which is the principal deity. The *khunt devi* or *devta* has authority over the deities of all the *ghori* under this *khunt* and thereby over the deities of all the villages of all the *ghori* under this *khunt*. The *ghori* deities often seek advice from the *khunt* deity in connection with some bigger crisis which some or all the *ghori* under this *khunt* are facing. The *khunt* deity is considered very powerful.

In Kinnaur there are six *khunt*, namely, Atharabis, Rajgram, Wangpo, Shua (upper and lower), Tukpa (inner and outer) and Hangrang. Each of these *khunt* or *pargana* is presided by a principal deity. "In each of Atharabis, Rajgram and Wangpo the *khunt* deity is Maheswar (Moin-sires). For Shua *khunt* the principal deity is Chandika. Similarly, for, Thukpa, the presiding deity is Badrinarayan (Raha : 1974). In Hangrang *khunt*, the *khunt* deity is Dabla. But in this *khunt* the *khunt* deity and the set of its subordinate deity is not well organised. This is probably due to the comparatively powerful influence of Buddhism there" (*op. cit.*).

As already stated, there are both principal and subordinate deities in Kinnaur. Each principal deity is assisted by a smaller deity known as a *wazir*. The abode of the *wazir* is a small temple adjacent to the main temple of the principal deity. If there is no temple an image of the *wazir* is kept by the side of the door of the principal deity. In Kinnaur, Maheswar of Sungra village is the *wazir* of the Goddess Bhima-Kali at Sarahan.

In Kinnaur many of the deities are related. It is usually seen that deities bearing the same name are related. The Maheswar of the three *khunt* Wangpo, Atharabis and Rajgram are related and they are considered as brothers. Again these three Maheswar are also related to Chandika of Shua, *khunt* and also Ukha or Usha of Nachar who are their sisters. That means the three Maheswar, Chandika and Ukha are brothers and sisters and are the children of the King Banaswar of Bushahir. After the death of Banaswar, Chandika took over the charge of the kingdom but later on allowed her other brothers and sister to be established in different parts of the kingdom, and the three brothers established themselves in three different *khunts*. Their temples were erected in Sungra, Chagaon and Bhaba villages. Usha devi was settled in Nachar. She is famous in the name Devi Ukha or Devi Usha. Devi Chandika established herself in the village Kostampi or Kothi. She is also known as Devi Kothi. Similarly the *ghori* deities particularly those who bear the same name are related to one another. The Nages of Brua and the Nages of Sapni *ghori* are related as brothers. The Nages of Brua who is also known by the village name, that is, Brua Nages is the elder brother of Nages of Sapni also known as Sapni Nages. Besides their name and village name the Brua Nages is also known as Sadeo Pandit and the

Sapni Nages as Sidhya Swarup (Sen : 1970 ; 2140). Identically the village deities within a *ghori* who bear the identical name are also related. The Narain of Rogi, Miru, Sapni and Shong are brothers. Similarly, the Nages of Sangla and the same of Rakcham are brothers.

It is sometimes seen that deities bearing the same name but living in different villages or even different districts continue to keep some relationship. "For example the Nages of Tangnu village (in Rohru tehsil of the present Simla district) and the Nages of Sangla under Kamru *ghori* are brothers. In the same way Badrinath/Badrinarayan of Kamru and Badrinath of Garhwal (U.P.) are believed to be related (Raha : 1975). Devta Kuldeo of Dutiang (Bhaba) also traces his relation with Kuldeo of Garshu village.

The Kinnaurese pantheon consists of a number of important and minor deities. Of these gods and goddesses (*devi* or *devta*) some of these deities are quite important while others are not so important. Even sometimes some deity (*devi* or *devta*) present in different villages do not have the same importance and status. For example, Chandika of Kothi village is more important than the same deity of Ropa village. Again Maheswar of Chagaon, Gramang and Sungra are more important than Maheswar of Mahbar, Bhaba and Chargaon. In the following paragraphs some important deities (*devi* and *devta*) have been described in brief.

(a) Bhima-Kali was the supreme deity of the state of Bushahir. Even now she is considered as the supreme deity of the whole area including Kinnaur. She is housed in very big and beautiful temple situated at Sarahan, the summer capital of erstwhile Raja of Bushahir.

(b) Devi Chandika who is the presiding deity of the Shua *pargana*, is the most notable one. She is more precisely known as Shuwang Chandika and is housed in a beautiful temple situated in the village, Kothi or Kostampi, only about 4 km. from the district Headquarters, Kalpa. The idol of the *devi* which is made of pure gold (1911 : 29) is seated on a palanquin. During different festivals and occasions, the *devi* on her palanquin is taken out of the temple so that the *devi* can join the festivities.

(c) Devi Ukha or Usha is the presiding deity of Nachar. Her temple, which is also a beautifully decorated one, is situated on the subdivisional headquarters at Nachar. Devi Ukha or Usha is considered as the daughter of King Banasur of Bushahir.

(d) Maheswars are the presiding deities of different villages such as Chagaon, Gramang, Sungra, Mahbar, Bhaba and Chargaon. But the Maheswars of Sungra, Gramang and Chagaon are considered as the most famous as they are the sons of the King Banasur of Bushahr.

(e) Narayan is the presiding deity of a very good number of villages spread all over Kinnaur. Narayan is considered as the other form of Lord Vishnu by the enlightened people. In Kinnaur Narayan is also present in his various forms Badrinath, Badrinarayan, Vishnu Narayan, Kuldeo Narayan, Kumshoo Narayan, Ishu Narayan and so on.

(f) Dabla is the most important deity of Pooh sub-division and particularly in Hangrang valley where Buddhism prevails.

Various Hindu cults

Hinduism of Kinnaur is divided into various cults. The cult is associated with a particular deity of a particular area. People of that area are the followers of that particular cult. Following are the various cults present in Kinnaur.

(1) KALI OR SHAKTI CULT

This cult is associated with the goddess Kali, Chandika, Usha and many other devi who are linked with *shakti* or power cult. The Bhima-Kali of Sarahan (Simla district) and Kamru, Chandika of Kothi, Mathi of Chitkul, Bhagwati of Rakcham, Khandma of Kanum, Khurmo of Spilo, Chitrlekha of Taranda, Hirma devi of Choura, Ukha or Usha devi of Nachar and Barakhamba Kali of Chuling and many other *devi* are covered by this cult.

(2) SHIVA CULT

The Shiva cult is associated with Lord Shiva or Maheswar. Under this cult come Mahasu of Telangi, Parka Shankar of Pawari, Maheswar of Chagaon, Gramang, Sungra, Mahbar, Bhaba Chargaon and Rupak Shankar of Thangi.

(3) VISHNU CULT

This cult is associated with Lord Vishnu or Narayan. Lord Narayan is worshipped in a large number of villages. Under this cult come Badri-nath of Kamru, Badri Narayan of Ba seri, Naranes of Chasu, Kilba, Gramang (Bhaba) Shong, Chargaon, Sungra, Urni, Asrang, Narayan of Rogi, Miru, Sapni, Punang, Ramni, Vishnu Narayan of Kalpa, Teng-tashu (Narayan) of Lipa, Kuldeo Narayan of Namgia, Kumshoo Narayan of Bei and Kafnu (Bhaba) and Ishu Narayan of Purbani.

(4) DABLA CULT

Dabla cult is associated with the deity Dabla. This cult is mostly present in Pooh sub-division. Under this cult come Dabla of Chango, Hango, Dabling Dubling, Kanam, Namgia, Shiaso, and Pooh.

(5) NAG CULT

Nag cult is associated with the deity Nag. This cult is mostly prevalent in Kalpa and Nachar sub-division. In pooh sub-division this cult is present only in Asrang village (Nagin). Under this cult come Nag of Brua, Rakcham, Sangla, Sapni, Pari, Chota Khamba, Kandhar,

Natpa, Yula, Barang, Mebar, Chasu, Dharang Nag of Yangpa (Bhaba Rapang Nages of Asrang).

(6) DEODUM CULT

This cult is associated with the deity Deodum and is conspicuous by its absence in Kalpa and Nachar sub-divisions. It is present in Pooh sub-division. This cult covers Deodum of Chuling, Hango, Nako, Kanam and Spilo.

(7) GYALBO CULT

It is associated with the deity Gyalba and covers Gyalbo of Hango and Shialkar.

(8) KULDEO CULT

This cult is associated with the deity Kuldeo and is present in Dutrang (Bhba) and Gharshu villages.

(9) DUNGHOR CULT

Associated with the deity Dungyor it has been accepted by the villagers of Chuling, Jangi, Labrang, Lipa, Morang, Spilo, Pooh, Sunam and Thangi.

(10) NAIDAK CULT

The association of this cult is with the deity Naidak which is the presiding deity of the villages Chuling and Hango. So this cult is also restricted in Pooh sub-division.

(11) LABRANG CULT

This cult is associated with the deity Labrang. It includes Thakur Labrang of Purbani, Hango, Kanum, Nishang, Pooh and Rushkling.

(12) LAGANG CULT

Lagang cult which has its association with the deity Lagang is present in Pooh sub-division only. It covers Lagang of Chuling, Giabong, Hango Nako, Pooh and Ropa.

(13) YULSA CULT

This cult is also found only in Pooh sub-division and has its association with Yulsa. Yulsa of Chango, Shialkar and Sunam come under this cult.

Besides the above cult, Kinnaur holds various other minor cults of lesser importance. Many of the cults cover only one village.

Spirits

The Kinnaurese believe in a number of spirits. According to them spirits are found everywhere, particularly in the forests, the mountains the river sides. The people avoid to go to such places where there are such spirits. If per chance a person goes to such places, he might be harmed by the spirit which might cause injury, illness and even death. *Bakhar-shuna* a spirit, lives in the forests in high altitude. Whenever the villagers visit such forests for hunting or grazing their domestic animals, they take all precautions and avoid the spots where the spirit resides. They are particularly careful about the animals they graze. While grazing if an animal goes to that spot in the forest where the spirit lives, it will be killed by the spirit or it will be possessed by the spirit. When that animal joins the flock, the spirit will be with it and in the course of time, will kill all the other animals by sucking their blood or by creating illness. Last of all the spirit will kill the animal it possessed first. Sometimes it takes the shape of a goat and make bleating sound. Then it enters in the flock of sheep and goat and ultimately kill them. It can change its shape. Sometimes it injures a person by throwing stones.

Another spirit is *banshir*. It has its abode in a particular *deodar* or *kail* tree in the forest. Like *bakhar-shuna*, it can also take various shapes. It can take the shape of human being as well as wild animals. It usually haunts at night. Whenever it gets opportunity, it harms people though it may not be very fatal to human life. If any one constructs house with the wood of this particular tree unknowingly, it enters the house and causes menace to the householder by creating different sounds and by other ways.

Chon another spirit, lives in a stone on a high way. It harms persons who answer its call in the odd hours of the night. The Kinnaurese are particular in this affair. They will not answer to any mysterious call for three times in the dead of the night. The spirit is believed to call a person for three times. If it is not answered it leaves the man unmolested.

The Kinnaurese believe that a man who leads a sinful life in this life, will become a *raksas* in the next life. The most suitable place where it can be located is the confluence of two streams or rivulets or rivers. There it resides either on a huge rock or on a big tree. Like its habit in its past life (*i.e.*, when he was a human being doing wicked works), it also does mischief when it becomes spirit. In some odd hours if somebody happens to go to such place he is attacked by this spirit. If the man possesses some sharp weapon, the spirit does not dare to come closer to him.

Khunkch is a household spirit. It actually resides in the darker corner of a house or in the cattle shed. Though it does not cause harm to the inhabitants of the house always unless it is put to some trouble, but it can cause harm to some outsider who pays visit to this house.

Churail is the spirit of the pregnant woman. When a young pregnant woman dies it becomes *churail* in the next birth. It casts its lustrous eyes on the healthy young man and whenever finds opportunity it tries to molest him. Such habit of this spirit is believed to be due to the unfulfilled sex urge. It is also dangerous to the young pregnant woman and the child in the womb. One of the reasons of the birth of a dead child is the action of this spirit.

The Kinnaurese adopt various methods to escape the influence of these evil spirits. One of the methods is to wear amulet given by the village priest (*pujara*). Sometimes sanctified black thread tied round the waist also saves from spirit possession. When a person is possessed by the spirit, his or her middle fingers, of both the hands, are tied together by hair. He or she is allowed to inhale the smoke emitted of a burnt chilli. Then the magician asks the person to disclose the indentivity of the spirit. After repeated application of the device, the person discloses the identity of the spirit. Then by applying magical method applicable only to a particular spirit, the shaman wards off the spirit.

The *thatha* ceremony is another device of getting rid of the spirits. This ceremony is observed after a period of 2 to 5 years. Various rites are observed in this ceremony, and 105 lamps are lighted to ward off the spirit.

So far as the spirits are concerned both Hindu and Buddhist Kinnaurese have equal faith. People of both the religions believe in the evil designs of spirits, demons, goblins, etc. In Zone I and III the people having faith in Buddhism, erect village gate (*kankani*) and religious shrines (*chorten*) only to bar the entry of these malevolent supernatural beings.

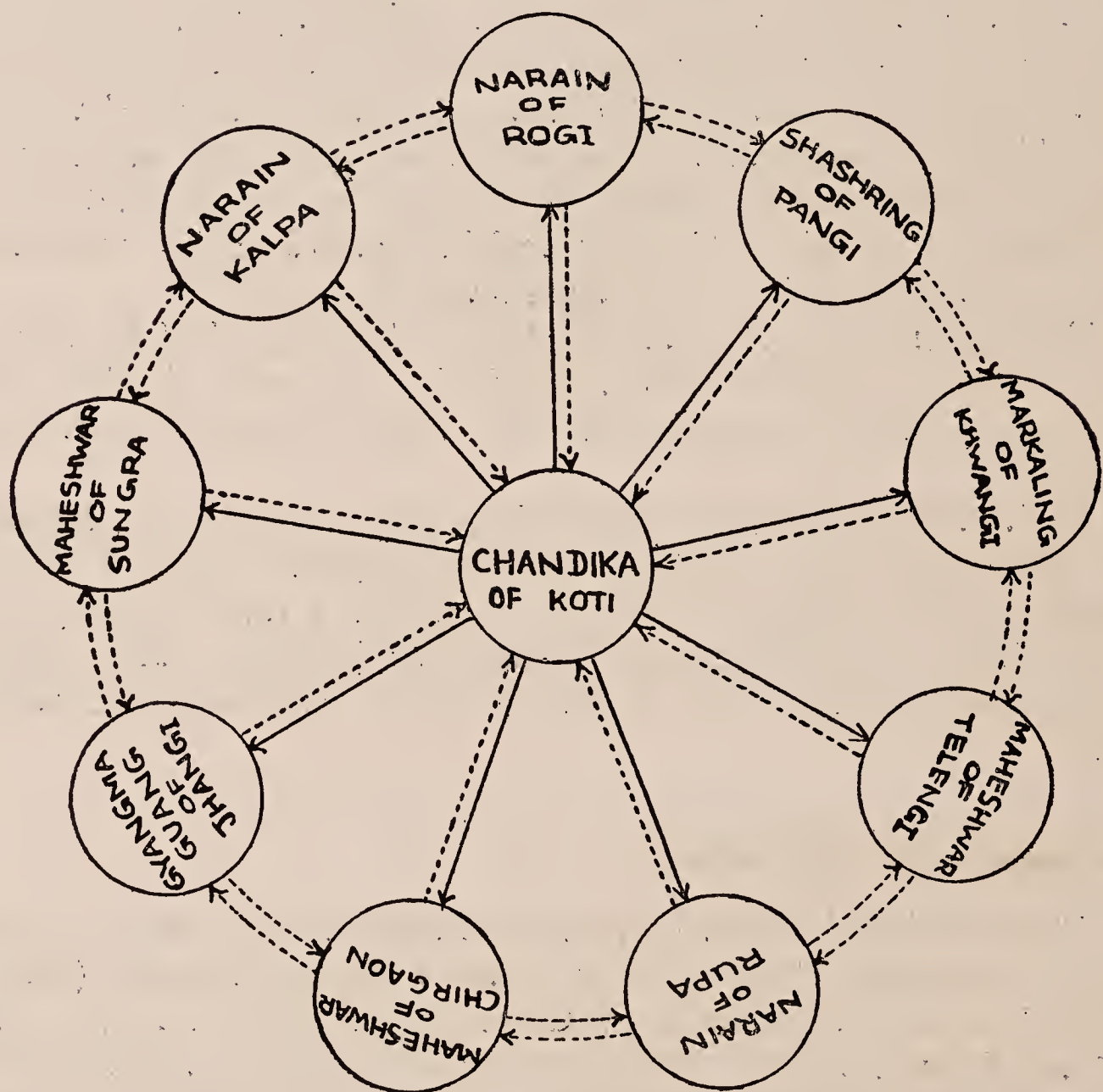
Ceremonial visits of the deities

“The Devi and Devta of Kinnaur maintain close ties by paying visit to one another. These visits are made at certain intervals” (Raha : 1975). The visits are made by the Gaon *devi* and *devta* in a *ghori*, *ghori devi* and *devta* in a *khunt*. When the presiding deity of a village invites the same of another village for a visit, it is done under the *bioling* system. On a previously fixed date the invitees visit the host village. This occasion is celebrated through worship, fair and festivity. When some crisis develops in a village which might affect the inhabitants of some other villages of the same *ghori*, the same *bioling* type of visit takes place. In this case the deities of all the villages of a *ghori* meet at one place and discuss about of the solution of the crisis. Besides, after a period of 2 to 3 years several village deities of a *ghori* meet together in one village and discuss the welfare of the villages (*op. cit.*).


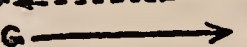

The second system of visit is known as *boning* system. Under this system the *khunt* deity visits different *ghori* or village deities under that particular *khunt*. This type of visit of the *khunt* deity to its subordinate

deity takes place after every 5 to 8 years. The information of the visit of the *khunt* deity is sent through the *halbandi* (messenger) to different *ghori* and villages under that *khunt*. The latter (*i.e.*, the *ghori* and the village deities) prepare themselves to receive the *khunt* deity. Devi Chandika of Kothi, Badrinarayan of Kamru and Maheswar of Sangla goes round their respective *ghori* and villages almost regularly.

SYSTEMS OF VISITS OF THE DEITIES



SYSTEMS OF VISITS

Bioling 
 Boning 
 Parganaith 

The third system of visit of the deities, is *parganaith* system where the sub-ordinate deities (*ghori* and village deities) visit the *khunt* deity to pay their homage to the *khunt* deity and also to discuss the problems. This type of visit usually takes place after 7 to 12 years. The sub-ordinate deities of *khunt* Kothi visit Devi Chandika for various reasons. Similarly under this system all the deities of Kamru *ghori* (Badrinath of Batseri,

Nages of Sangla and Rākcham, Mathi of Chitkul etc.) visit Badrinarayan of Kamru *ghori*.

There was another system of visit, which is not present now, was the visit of the Kinnauri deities to the Bhimakali temple at Sarahan (now in Simla district) as the latter is considered as the most important deity of the whole of erstwhile Bushahir State. After every 12 years this visit was to take place. This visit was mainly meant for paying homage to Goddess Bhima-Kali. Sometimes, on receipt of the invitation of the Raja of Bushahir some important *khunt* deities such as Chandika of Kothi or Badrinarayan of Kamru or Maheswar of Sangla used to visit the capital of the Bushahir State (Kamru, Sarahan or Ramput) to attend in some socio-religious occasions such as birth, marriage, death, etc. of the royal family.

The deities of Kinnaur sometimes visit to far off places. Badrinarayan of Kamru pays his visit to Badrinath of Garhwal who is believed to be his relative. Sen reports that Badrinarayan of Kamru visited Badrinath of Garhwal in 1874, 1894, 1901, 1909, 1926, 1930, 1948 and 1968 A.D.

Christianity in Kinnaur

Though Christianity is absent in Kinnaur, yet it seems important to write a few lines on this religion as once some members of the Kotgarh Mission which was one of the oldest Christian missions of the area, did some pioneering work in Kinnaur. Simla District Gazetteer of 1904 states, "A number of English residents in Simla.....constituted a society in December 1840 for beginning a mission in the Himalayas. It was to be Katgarh but its operations were to be extensive, embracing all country round about and including Simla as well as the district of Kanawar" (1808 : 48).

The Church Missionary Society hoped to establish a station in Kalpa (earlier Chini) but the idea was soon abandoned.

The first Moravian Mission started functioning in Pooh around 1865. In connection with the activities of the Moravian Mission in Kinnaur Rev. K. Fichtner writes, "There are two Moravian stations in Bashahr. The first is Pui, a village on the Upper Sutlej, some 15 miles from the Chinese-Tibetan frontier, which was selected as a station by the Rev. E. Pagell who desired to work until Tibetan was opened to Christian missions. For 18 years he laboured patiently among the people at Pui and the neighbouring villages where Tibetan is understood. From Pui the Moravian Missionaries have often crossed the border of Tibet and penetrated into the forbidden land.... The second station is at Chini also on the Sutlej, about 60 miles below Pui..." (1808 : 51). Moravian Mission failed to achieve its aim to preach Christianity among the people. They were able to baptise only a few souls. And these people also left this new religion and returned to their own traditional

faith soon as the mission ceased to function. Wilson also acknowledged the failure on the part of the Moravian Mission. "Besides himself (missionary), his wife, two-three members with their family constituted the entire Christian community in Pui (1876 : 140). Rev. Fechtner also confessed it. When he (Rev. E. Pagell) died in 1883 the Christian community only consisted of a few converts" (1808 : 51).

Two spectacular things the Moravian Mission did in Kinnaur. Firstly they opened schools in Kinnaur (*see* pages on Literacy) and introduced handloom from Europe.

Monastery, tombs, gate, etc.

MONASTERY

Wherever Buddhism has spread in Asia, it has given rise to impressive structures. A Buddhist temple or monastery in Kinnaur is called *labrang* or *gompha*. It is the main sanctuary, housing the image of Sakyamuni (Theravada) or of various Buddhas, Bodhisattvas and saints (Mahayana). Before the altars of these images, services are performed. The function of a monastery is to house the monks. Here members of the same profession reside and get training and practise the religious life exclusively. The size of the monasteries vary.

In Kinnaur the smaller Buddhist temple or shrine is called *lakhang* while the monastery is called *labrang*. It is undoubtedly a school of Buddhist doctrine for the lamas as well as for the zomos. At the same time it is the place of worship for the common persons. Here while the training and teaching on Buddhism are given to the lamas and the zomos, others come and pay their homage to Buddhist saints. The number of lamas or zomos in a monastery varies.

In the monastery, the villagers do not worship daily. This is done by the lamas on behalf of the villagers. The prayer, offerings and some kind of ritualistic performances are performed there by the lamas. The monastery is considered by the villagers as the place for achieving peace and salvation; it is the place where they come for the solution of their problems, their miseries and sorrows.

A monastery is headed by the chief lama who actually is the centre of all Buddhistic activity. He actually directs all the religious performances. At the same time he gives teachings and training to the junior lamas and the trainees and deliver summons of Buddha and other Buddhistic saints. In this regard his seniority and higher position is well recognised by the lamas and also by the villagers. He divides the works, both ritualistic and non ritualistic, among all and his orders are obeyed. Besides, in some cases he with the help of other lamas, adjudicate the cases arising out of the breach of social and religious codes. Some big monasteries have well organised governing body headed by the head lama who actually look after the function of the monasteries. In this body some other senior lamas look after the cash, store, agricultural and horticultural

ture fields, etc. In case of the nunneries also, almost the same procedure is maintained. Here the works are allotted to various senior zomos who are helped by the juniors while the whole set up is guided by the seniormost zomo. In the monastery where both lamas and zomos live, its works are shared by both.

CHHORTEN

The *chhorten* (*chhokten* or *chhosten*) is actually a Buddhistic shrine resembling *stupa*. The *chhorten* (Tibetan *mchod-rten*) probably originated during the seventh century A.D. (Snellgrove & Richardson : 1968 ; 80). It was actually considered as the funeral mounds under which the sacred relics of Sakyamuni's corpse once reposed, and it soon became the chief symbolic representation of Buddhism (*op. cit.*). At first it was felt to symbolise the person of the departed Lord, and in very early Buddhist times it became an object of faith and devotion. The various parts of *chhorten* have some symbolic significance. Though there are local variations in the style and design but every *chhorten* will have some common but essential characteristics. The main dome of *chhorten* is its fundamental part as here the sacred things are kept. It still acts as reliquary, but in place of the relics of the same Buddhistic saints the images of the saints or sacred books etc. are kept in it. This tomb is erected on a five-tier platform. These five-tier platform represents five essential elements of life which are earth, water, air, space and fire. The base of the tomb is called the throne. The dome is surmounted by a kind of spire consisting of rings of varied numbers. These rings represent the various 'stages of a future Buddhas advancing towards Buddhahood' (*op. cit.* ; 89).

In Kinnaur *chhorten* is found in various places in a village where Buddhism is prevalent and even in the individual house. The belief of the villagers behind this tomb is that it possesses some magical power which can keep the evil spirit away. As such often one can see such tombs in the four sides of the village and also on the roof of the house. Its presence on the four sides of the village bars the entry of the evil spirits from the four sides of the village. Similar belief is associated with the presence of this tomb in the house. Just by the side of the village gate (*kankani*), *chhorten* is seen. The villagers cross it by the left side or circumambutes it from left to right. This type of belief is also present in Tibet. There the *chhortens* is not only meant for 'warding off further misfortune' but also to prevent the entry of the devils which harass the inhabitants of the country by causing illness "So to prevent this, *Cho-ten* containing sacred images may be set up. This kind of devil is known as *Si*, and this kind of *Cho-ten* as *Si-Dok*, i.e., 'The Reversing of the *Si* devil'. (Bell : 1968a ; 79).

KANKANI

The presence of *kankani* or the village gate indicates that the village

is influenced by Buddhism. The gate is situated at the entrance of the village, on one of its boundaries which is close to the main thoroughfare. It is made of wood or wood and stone. It has two walls on two side with a *pagoda* type roof. Sometimes on the sidewalls and commonly on the ceiling of the roof, painting of Buddha and many of his saints are found. Villagers believe that no evil will be able to enter the village through this *kankani*.

SANTHANG (TEMPLES)

In Kinnaur the temple of *devi* and *devta* is called *santhang*. In this district, particularly in Zone II and III each village is provided with at least one temple. The temple is the site for the deity. Besides the temple the deity has atleast one more building (*kuhar*) which is meant for storing various articles of the deity which includes its utensils, furniture, musical instruments, produces from the cultivable land and so on.



TEMPLE (*Santhang*)

In most of the cases the material used for the construction of the temple is either wood alone or wood slate and stone slates. For its peculiar construction a temple can be distinguished from other houses.

It has cone shaped roof with conical tombs. Gerard's description of the temple gives a very lively picture. The temple of the *deotas* (deities) are magnificent, and adorned with a profusion of costly ornaments. There are two or three in every village, and sundry miraculous feasts are ascribed to the goods to whom they are dedicated, scarcely one of whom but has the credit of having the purpose of rendering the roads passable, or some other like achievement. Each god has generally three distinct houses, one for himself, another for his furniture (these two are built of stone and slate), and the third, which is constructed of wood, is small, well raised open all round, and supported on posts, in this the god is placed on grand festival.

Two people usually attend each temple, and on the morning and evening they beat kettle drums, and sound trumpets.

Great sums are expended upon temples which are often of cut stone, they are lofty buildings visible at a distance, towering above all the other houses in the village. They have roofs.....and projecting balconies, embellished with neatly curved wooden flowers and fringes (1841 : 86). The Gazetteer of Bushahr states that "the *deota* of a small hamlet usually lives in a pile of stones near the houses, which is called a *than* and can be recognised by the pieces of rag tied to it. In more important places, where there are *khund* kanets, the *thairi*, a sort of platform, takes the place of a *than*, and marriages and other religious ceremonies are conducted on the *thairi*. Only the *gana deotas* have temples. These are usually square buildings with high sloping curved roofs from the eaves of which depends rows of wooded bobbins. Some are ornamented with good wood curving. The doors of a temple face either north or east or else there is a door in each side" (1911 : 26).

Religious specialists lama

The lamas (*blama*) or bhikshu are the Buddhist monks who lead an ascetic life, renounce the world and remove themselves from all kind of its affiliations and obligations. Their ultimate aim is salvation (*Nirvana*). They are *nirgrantha* (without ties) and *vairagi* (free from affection and attachment). According to Tambiah they are those 'who go forth from home to homelessness' (1970 : 63). 'Lama means simply 'Superior' and is the normal polite title for senior monks and for those in the villages who act as the "Priests" of their small communities as well as for the heads of teaching faculties in the large monasteries and the principals of religious institutions, both small and large'. (Encl ; Brit : 1969 : 21 ; 1118). Usually the principals of the monasteries are headed by the reincarnating lamas (*sprul sku*). To have a head of the monasteries as a reincarnating lama, definitely helps in increasing the prestige of the monasteries. Nevertheless there still remain many institutions where other methods of succession are in vogue : by inheritance from father to son (in case of married religious practisers) from uncle to nephew or by selection according to merit and learning (*op. cit.*).

Though popularly the word 'lama' is indiscriminately used to all monks or priests, but the Tibetans use this term for two classes of priests, firstly those who are the incarnations of deities or those who attained to Buddhahood in their past lives and secondly those who by virtue of their great knowledge and religious devotion, have uplifted their position above the other priests. There are two courses open to a lama, who truly seeks deliverance from the wheel of life. "He may either teach others or he may concentrate on his own mind practising piety through asceticism, mortifying the flesh that spirit within, may dominate it," (Bell ; 1968 : 64).

A lama differs from the Brahman priest in many ways. He must accept alms without discrimination from any of his devotees who may belong to different castes. But in case of the Brahman the rules of commensality prevent him from doing so. Any one adhering Buddhism can become lama, but it is not true for the Brahman priest in which case it is determined by birth. Many other differences are there.

In Kinnaur the lamahood came alongwith Buddhism or in other way it may be put that the lama actually brought Buddhism. Their main objective was to preach Buddhism and to spread the teachings of Lord Buddha and successive Buddhist saints among the people (*laity*). In this district the lama erected the monasteries (*gompha*), and these monasteries are situated in the villages. The wandering habit of some of the lama particularly of Tibet, is not found here.

Actually the lamas are of two types. They are (1) *gyalong* (celibate) who are the strict followers of lamahood, do not marry, do shave their head and live in the monasteries and (2) *dugpu* who may live in the house may marry but do not shave their head. In this district most of the lama of course, live in their houses in the village, instead of the monasteries. Only a few lamas who have come from outside or from distant villages of the district, live in the monasteries. In Namgia village the lama Sanem Furbu lives in his house though there is a monastery in the heart of the village. Similarly the other lama of this village, Lama Deviram who also has a grocery shop in the village, live in his house. In Chango village some of the lamas live in their respective houses. While some others in the monastery. But in Tashigong the lama live in the monastery.

Usually the lama who live in the monastery in Kinnaur, have come either from a distant village or from outside Kinnaur. In the village Duni out of five lamas living in the village monastery, four have come from Tibet and the other from Ladak. But the sixth one is a local man and he lives in his own house in the village and not in the monastery.

Thus on the basis of the habitat the lama of this district can be divided into two groups, monastic and non-monastic. By monastic lama we refer to those lama who live in the monasteries and non-monastic lamas are those who do not live in the monasteries but in their own house in the village or in some of the *laity*. Regarding the life of various religious

heads belonging to the various sects in Kinnaur, Gerard has given a very comprehensive picture "The Lamas in Koonawar are the three sects, Geloopa, Dukpa and Neegma..... The Geloopas or Gelookpas are reckoned the highest; since the heads of their religion at Teshoo Loomboo and Lhasa are of the same sect. They wear yellow cloth garments, and caps of the same shapes. The Dookpas are dressed indifferently, but have red caps, and the Neengmas wear the same or go bare headed, the two former do not marry, but there is no restriction on the Neengmas The Gelongs, monks, and Chomos (Zomo) or Ances, nuns, are the heads of the lamas, and have nothing to do with the worldly concerns, but employ themselves in chanting hymns, and writing and printing sacred sentences from blocks of wood. The nun pass most of their time in reading and do not write so much as the Gelongs, who profess celibacy, reside in a monastery called *ghompa* or *goomba*, and the nuns in a convent named *chomoling* these usually form distinct divisions and are apart from the other houses of a village. In Tibet the chief of a monastery is called Lama, which is the highest title, and the inferior orders are styled Gelong. Here it is different, for most of the clergy are named Lama, or as it is more commonly pronounced Lamba, and the heads of the convents of Kanum Lubrung and Shealkhur, whom I have seen, are denominative Gelong or Gooroo. In Koonawur Gelongs are not common; there is seldom more than one in the largest village, except Shealkhur where there are eight or ten Geloopas improperly called Gelongs, but not entitled to such a distinction. The Gelongs wear white trousers, a long red and yellow cloth garment and either go bare headed or have head dresses, commonly yellow, higher than the rest, and shaped like a cone..... The nuns are clothed in red, and have hats.....of yellow, trimmed with red. Neither the Gelongs nor the nuns smoke tobacco, though Lamas do; neither of them drink spirituous liquors" (1841 : 117). In Simla Hill States Gazetteer, 1910 we get the mention of two classes of Lamas, the Gyolangs or Celibate monks, who wear yellow cloths and ordinary Lamas, who marry and wear red (1912 : 40).

In Kinnaur in most of the monasteries the head lama is hailed from Tibet. The reason is that earlier the lamas from Kinnaur used to go to Lhasa in Tibet or in Ladak for training and also the Tibetan lamas used to come to Kinnaur for rendering their services,

Two *peculiar* things can be noticed among the lamas of Kinnaur—firstly ranking on the basis of seniority and secondly caste affiliation. In the monasteries the lamas are graded on the basis of seniority. The senior most lamas sit on the higher platform and near the idols of the deities followed by the other groups of senior lamas, though Buddhism does not recognise the ranking among the lamas other than simple seniority or the relation of teacher to pupil (Eliot ; 1954 : I ; 247). Caste is also another important factor in case of lamahood. In Kinnaur most of the local lamas belong to Rajput group. Of course, one can become lama from the lower castes like Koli, but in such cases, one is deprived of

certain privileges. In Namgia and Leo villages there are lamas from Lohar caste but they are not allowed to enter inside the monastery. They can only sit near the door of the monastery.

So far as the training for the lamaship is concerned, it may be said that there are various systems and courses prevalent for the lamaship. The preliminary course is for 21 days. Students after passing this course, are conferred with the degree of *chhakchin*. As one passes this course, one obtains the right to enter in the next course which is for 4 months in which the degree given is called *wando*. After passing *wando* one may take the next course which is for another four months in which the degree of *lendup* is given. As a student passes upto *lendup*, after this he obtains the degree *dawa*, meaning moon. A student thus obtaining *dawa*, can continue further for six more months to get the degree *yiduum*. Further six months study and training of *yogashram* brings the degree of *chhotak* to a student. The next seven months course is meant for the degree of *tandel*. The successful completion of the advance course for eight more months brings the degree of *rouyum*. As one successfully completes all these course, one becomes the lama and obtains the right to participate directly in the function of the monastery. Earlier people used to go to Tibet or Ladak to get the training, now they go to Ladak or to Dharamshala or gets training from the experienced lamas even in Kinnaur.

Zomo

In Kinnaur zomos (nuns) are found in almost all the villages where there is Buddhism. But at Kanam and Sungnan there are two big nunneries where a big number of zomos live. Actually those women who do not marry but want to renounce the world and like to lead an ascetic life, become zomo. They usually stay in the monasteries. The institution of zomo (*bhikshuni*) actually originated with the development of the monastic powers around 11th Century when the lamas showed the brighter purview of the Buddhistic doctrine in the pursuit of salvation, inhibition from rebirth and entry into the heaven. Many women who have the desire of reaching the goal became the zomo and joined the nunneries.

In Kinnaur the zomo come mainly from the Rajput caste. They enter the nunneries at their early teens and go through some training. At the time of initiation the consent of the parents is required. During initiation their head is shaved and they put on the robe as prescribed for the various sects. After initiation she should not live in her house but shift to the monastery for proper training. There she remain under the care of some elderly zomo who in most of the cases, is her father's sister. Only in exceptional cases when a new entrant is too young, she is allowed to stay with her parents till she is sufficiently grown up. In connection with the zomo of Kinnaur Gerard writes, "The nuns (*Chomos* in red, and have hats.....of yellow, trimmed with red" (1841 : 117). He did not find the zomos smoking tobacco or drinking liquor.

Crooke's view is that the Kanet girls who do not marry, but devote their time to the study of the Buddhistic scriptures, are called *zomos* or *jamos*. They live in nunneries (1974 : 111 ; 453).

As we have stated the *zomo* remains unmarried throughout her life. She will never indulge in sexual intercourse with anybody, may be a lama or a laity. She should abstain from doing any crime relating to sex life, but follow the Buddhistic doctrine in this regard, though sometimes she is to look after the lamas of some monastery. A lama in a similar way, follows this norm. But in some cases, though rare, sex offences are found to be committed by the lamas as well the *zomos*. Wilson referred such a case when he was travelling Pooh area. "When I was in 'Pu' a great noise was caused by a lama nun (*zomo*) the daughter of a wealthy zaminder having suddenly increased the population of that village in defiance of the law of population and her holy vow. About a year before, visit had been made to 'Pu' by a celebrated lama from the interior of Chinese Tibet whose claims to sanctity were so high that the zaminder invited him to stay in his house and expounded the Tibetan scripts. The nun came down to these reunions from her convent, a few hundred feet up the mountain side, and the consequence was the event which I just noticed. Meanwhile the hokyman had meanly, but judiciously, gone back into Chinese Tibet...The scandal being great the father on his own account and on his daughter had to pay about Rs. 300/- in all to the convent to the scandalised village and to the State" (p 212—214). Landor also marked this sort of immorality about the *zomos* of Tibet and stated that in many cases the nuns became the concubines of the lamas (Landor quoted in Bhanja : 1948 ; 251).

In Kinnaur polyandry is partially responsible of the *zomohood*. Due to polyandry a good number of girls remain unmarried when the ratio of male and female is almost normal. Many of the girls who remain unmarried for polyandrous system take the monastery life as the cure for the agony of their life. Andrew Wilson also marked this factor. He writes, "of course, there is a large number of surplus woman under this polyandric system, and they are provided for in the Lama nunneries where they learn to read and copy the Buddhistic scriptures and to engage in religious services (1876 : 231). Further along with polyandry beauty is also a factor. The beautiful girls are usually get married first. Naturally those who are not considered beautiful are left out and remain unmarried throughout their life. So Gerard rightly saw 'many handsome youth but not a single good looking nun (*zomo*) out of fifty'. He was told by his Kinnauri interpreter that ugly females who had little prospect of being married, retired to convent (1846 : 225).

Besides polyandry, sometimes inspiration from elderly *zomo*, turns a younger one to *zomo*. At Duni, a young girl of twelve years became *zomo* after being inspired by her father's sister who herself is a *zomo*. From the same village another somewhat aged girl, who got inspiration

from a lama, went to Dharamshala to have the 'Darsan' of the Dalai Lama. On her return she declared to become zomo.

But with the change of social system of Kinnaur and with the opening of communications with main land of India and for various other reasons, the attraction for the zomoship is gradually decreasing. Less and less number of girls are turning to zomohood. Decrease in the frequency is possibly a factor with the increase of the number of monogamy and polygynandry so that lesser number of girls remain unmarried.

Like the lamas many zomos in Kinnaur also live in their respective house. While staying in their house they take part in various economic pursuits like, agriculture, caring domestic animals and so on. Their maintenance is done by their respective families. Sometimes they get some of their parental property. A zomo usually adheres to monastic life. She usually does not return to her private family life. Only if she is expelled from the monastery with the charge of violation of religious codes and other offences and barred from observing zomo life, she has no alternative but to return to her domestic life.

Santhang functionaries

Kinnaur is conspicuous in its absence of any Brahman. Sarahan in Simla district, which was once capital of Bushahir Kings, is the last area where the Brahmans are found. No Brahman can be traced as Sarahan is crossed. In olden days also there was no Brahman in this district which was a part of the erstwhile Bushahir State. As early as 1820 Fraser found no Brahman in this region. Now a days of course, the Brahmans of Sarahan are called by the Kinnaurese to officials in various rituals. At present in some of their socio-religious ceremonies, the inhabitants of Zone II and III particularly the Rajput bring Brahmans from Sarahan.

In the absence of the Brahman, the priestly work is mostly done by the local people. Usually the Rajput works for the Rajput, the Koli for the Koli and so on. Here the temple administration is run by a host of functionaries known as the *kardar*. "They actually serve the deity and control the socio-religious administration of the socio-political units like the *gaon*, the *ghori* or the *khunt* (Raha : 1977). These functionaries not only do all sort of works connected to the deity and the temple but also stand between the public and the deity. These *kardars* are the *pujara* (priest), the *grokch* (who speaks to the villagers for the deity), *mathas* (who speaks to the deity on behalf of the villagers), the *kaitha* or *khajanchi* (Accountant who keeps temple accounts), *chalia* (carrier of the palanquin of the deity), *krushhya* or *deotu* (temple guard), *halbandi* (messenger), *baijantri* (musician).

Pujara

The duty of the *pujara* is to perform the daily worship of the deity.

Sometimes once, sometimes twice (morning and evening) he goes to the temple and performs the religious duties. His post is hereditary. After the death of the *pujara* his next brother, in absence of brother, his eldest son becomes the next *pujara*. In lieu of his duty, the *pujara* gets some area of land free of cost where he cultivates and enjoys the yield of that land. Besides, the regular worship, he also performs worship of the deity on the special occasions. He also performs the worship in the individual houses, particularly of the Rajput. For this worship in the individual houses, he is paid in cash or kind or both. He performs the *puja* usually by two methods—*Visnu marg* and *Shakti marg*. In case of the former no sacrifice of the animal takes place while in the other method sacrifice is obligatory.

Grokch

The function of the *grokch* is to act as an oracle who narrates to the villagers, the will or the desire or the advice or the suggestion of the deity. When the villagers face a problem and come to the deity for solution the deity tells them the solution through the *grokch*. Besides, the *grokch* also worships the deity. His office, like that of the *pujara*, is also hereditary, and the succession follows the same line as in case of the *pujara*. Like the *pujara*, the *grokch* also enjoys some area of free land for his duty to the deity and also to the public.

Mathas

Mathas is the oracle who speaks to the deity on behalf of the villagers. When a villager faces some problem or crisis, he cannot approach the deity directly. He will have to narrate his problem to the *mathas* who in return, explains the same to the deity. For his duty he also gets some land free of cost. His office is also hereditary and the line of succession follows in the same pattern as that of the *pujara* and the *grokch*.

Kaithas or Khajanchi

The accountant of the temple is known as *kaithas* or *khajanchi*. He keeps all the accounts of the income and expenditure of the temple. He is to keep the account of the donation made to the temple, repayment of loan and its interest from the temple capital, offerings of the *puja*, production of the cultivable land of the temple and so on. At the same time he also keeps account of expenditure made by various means like daily worship, annual festivities, visit of the deity, loan given from the temple store etc. The office of the *kaithas* is also hereditary. He also gets a plot of land for his duty.

Chalia

When the deity is lifted or when the deity visits some house in the

village or some other deity, the deity is carried on the palanquin (*zamanang*) by the *chalia*. Like other functionaries they also get some area of land from the temple for his duty. His office is also hereditary.

Krosia or Deotu

Krosia or *deotu* is the man who guards the temple. His duty is to see that no burglary takes place in the temple and also no damage to the temple is done by anybody. His office is not hereditary but selective depending on the will of the deity.

Halbandi

The duty of the *halbandi* or messenger is to convey the message of the deity to some other deity or to some person. When the visit of a deity to another deity or village is fixed, the information of the visit is conveyed to the deity or the village by the messenger being directed by the deity.

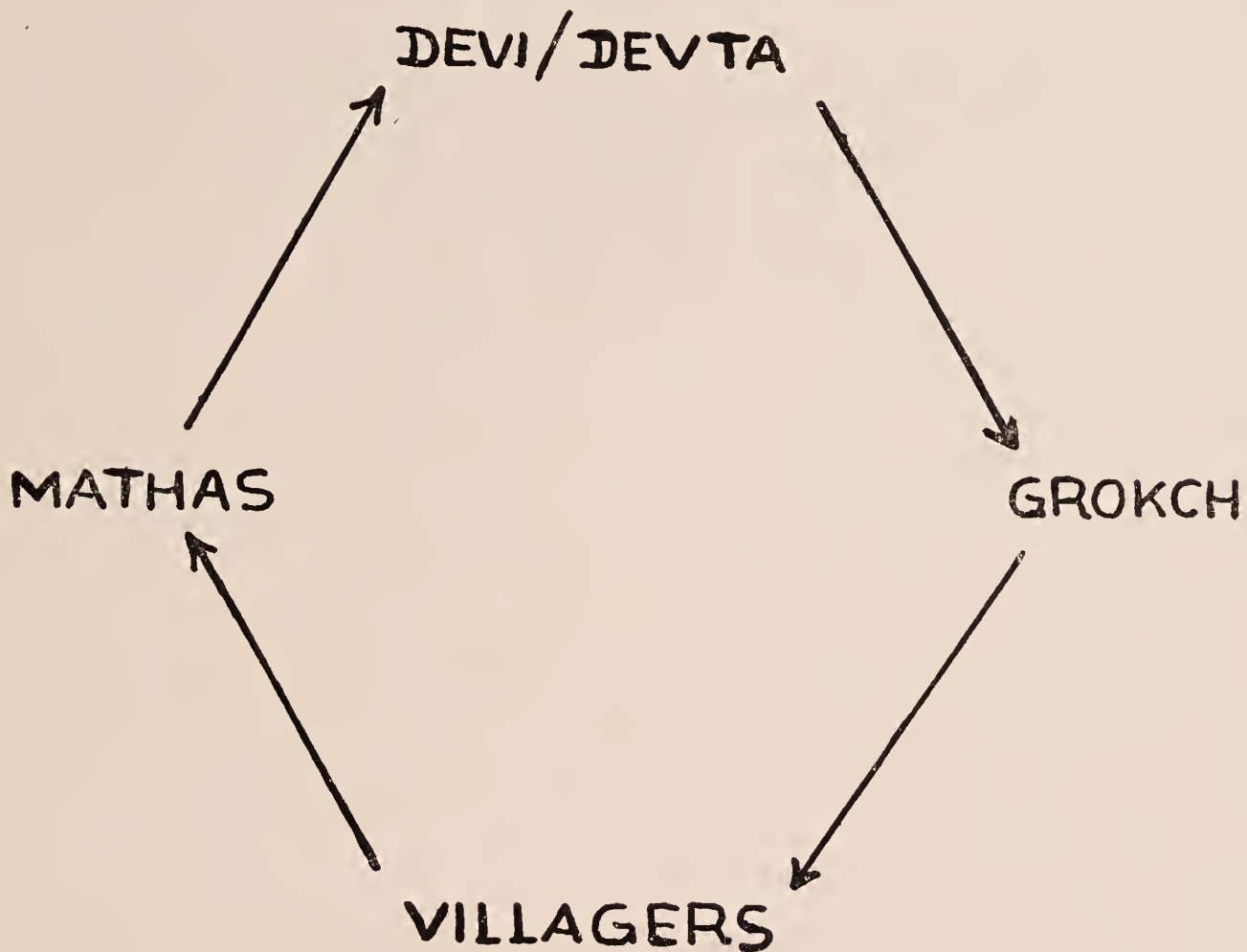
Baijyantri

Only the baihayantri (musician) are the non-Rajput among the temple functionaries. Some Scheduled Castes, particularly the Koli, usually act as the musicians of the temple. During daily worship, annual festivals, visit of the deity and such other occasions, they play various musical instruments. The office of the musician is not hereditary nor they get any land for their duty.

In connection with the temple functionaries Gazetteer of Bushahr mentions. "Each *pargana* temple has five or six *pujara* or priests, a *bhandari* or store keeper, and a committee of managers called *kardars*. These latter administer the temple funds and also act as a *panchayat* to settle religious and social differences between the devotees of the temple. The office of the chairman to this body is hereditary. Meetings are convened by the chairman, and a *pujari* goes round to summon the members. Absentees are fined. Every *zamindar*, who is an adherent to the temple, gives to the temple regularly ten or twelve sears of grain at each harvest, in addition to his social offerings on other suitable occasions" (1911 : 27).

The new functionary is required only when the existing functionary dies, or becomes unable to perform the rituals or suffers from prolonged illness or goes away from the village for ever or leaves the village temporarily but for a prolonged period. In that case a new functionary is selected. The nearest kin of the existing functionary is usually selected subject to the approval of the deity. In an auspicious day, the deity is lifted in his/her palanquin by the palanquin bearers through the utterance of the incantations and spells by the *pujar*, the *grokch* and the *mathas*. When the bearers get possessed, the *mathas* request the deity to approve

the said person as the functionary. Usually the deity approves the request. If the deity does not approve then either the deity selects somebody else, or some other names are referred to the deity and one of them is selected.



If any of such office falls vacant and the last functionary does not have any brother or son or near kin or if the whole family of the functionary leaves the village for ever or for a long time, some other person is selected as functionary. In that case the *pujar* selects a date for the purpose. In that auspicious day, the palanquin carriers lift the deity on the palanquin while the *pujar*, *grokch* and the *mathas* start uttering *mantras*. Along with the uttering of the incantations of the palanquin carriers get possessed by the deity. The palanquin starts tilting this side or that side or moving forward and backward. The *mathas* then request the deity to select somebody for the vacant post as due to the absence of such post the functions of the temple are not running smoothly. The deity then discloses the name of the candidate through the *grokhch*. The selected person, pays his homage to the concerned deity and promises to carry on his responsibility with all sincerity.

Sometimes the *mathas* refers names of some persons who have experience in the particular job. The deity selects one of these persons for the vacant post. Of course the deity may not select any of these persons whom the *mathas* has referred to the deity who may, by its own judgement, select some other person.

In recent years many villagers are not eager to accept such offices of the temple functionaries though for such function, each functionary gets a fixed area of land, free of tax. Now a days, as the people remain

busy with so many multifarious jobs that they get very little time to perform the duties of the functionaries. They are of the opinion that if they want to do justice to their ritual function, then their other works are hampered. So many of them are not much keen to perform such duties.

But in early days such offices were the symbol of power and prestige. Everybody in the village used to get afraid of these functionaries as for the solution of any problem a villager would have to depend on these functionaries as only the deity could solve such problems. The villagers were barred from approaching the deities directly. On behalf of him the *mathas* would approach the deity and on behalf of the deity the *grokch* would disclose the will of the deity. So they were the spokesmen of the deity. Further these functionaries used to get a fixed area of land for cultivation and further the land of the temple were also taken by the functionaries for cultivation on share basis. But now-a-days people on many occasions approach various other agencies for solution of the problem. For example, for illness they go to doctor or hospital, for conflict they go to Naya Panchayat or court and so on for which they used to depend on the deity in the past. So these offices of the functionaries are no longer so important and attractive to them.

FAIRS AND FESTIVALS

Like all other people of India, the Kinnaurese also observe a number of fairs and festivals (vide Appendix). During these fairs and festivals they perform worships of various deities and spirits with offerings and sacrifices alongwith get-together, merry making, drinking, singing, dancing, rejoicing etc. Many of these fairs and festivals are connected with their socio-economic life, some are purely religious while some others are only for merry-making, fun and rejoicing. These fairs and festivals wipe out their year long monotony, miseries and distress and bring fresh vigour in them. The following are the various fairs and festivals of Kinnaur.

Bishu

In the annual cycle of the festivals, Bishu or Beesh is the first festival in the Zones II and III. Although this festival is also celebrated in some parts of the Zone I, but in this zone, *hosar* is the first in the yearly cycle of the festivals.

This festival is observed every year on the 1st and 2nd Baisakh (April-May) in most of the parts of the Zone I and II but in the rest of the places and in Zone I, this is celebrated after a month, on the 1st and 2nd of Jyaistha (May-June).

This festival is celebrated to bid good-bye to the chilly winter season in the region. Hence on the occasion everybody goes to the Sutlej or stream to take bath. Men and women take their first post-winter

bath in order to clean their bodies after long interval. Thus this is widely observed. These days, people also take bath in village tap-water. Further in the newly constructed houses there are provision for bath-room. So sometimes they take bath during winter also with hot water and soap in the bath-room. Thus, the importance of the first bathing day of post-winter is looking ground. After bath *devta* is brought out from the temple and a fair is held. In Kongos village of the Zone II, this continues for three days. Because they participate two days in Mahasur temple and the santhang of Sungra village on the 3rd day all come to Kongos village. In Rogi of Zone II, this is observed for two days on the court-yard of Warin temple. The most important feature on this occasion, is that the *devi/devta* changes its officials (*kardar*) for ensuing year.

In all these (two or three) days, men and women dance with the tune of musical band. All wear good and fancy dresses. On this occasion, they prepare good food like *poltu* and *halwa* etc. The Koli play on musical instruments and dance separately in the court-yard of their Nag devta temple. But the Rajput offer food to their own artisans who are connected with *domang* and *chamang binana*. After the festivity, agricultural operation for the year starts.

It has been marked that there is variation in the observance of this *bishu* fair in the Zone I and in different places of the Zones II and III. A particular fair must be observed on the same day or date, or with a variation of one or two-days as in the case of the calender of the Hindus of the plains. This is because of the fact that most places are on the different altitude and situated in different directions. Thus in the shadow villages where there is prolonged winter where winter remains for a month more, Bishu is observed accordingly one month late than the actual month of observance of the festival. Hence, it gives the picture of peculiar ecological setting of Kinnaur and its effect on the observance late and cause of festivities.

Dakhraini

This festival is celebrated throughout the Zones-II, III and some parts of the Zone I. In all those places this is observed only one day on the 1st of Sawan (July-August) every year.

At Rogi, Narain *devta* is brought out and worshipped. Whereas in Kongos, people go to Mahesur temple at Sungra. There *shivalinga* is worshipped. Mahesur is taken outside from the temple. The *devta* gives several round in an encircling *shivaling* which is kept in the centre, This is done to appease Lord Shiva. *Zaibisaloo* flowers are offered to god. In the night, *mashals* (torch) made of *deodar* is lighted. Music, dance and merry making by the villagers continue till dawn.

On this occasion, so re villagers go to *kanda* (high altitude) land and bring several flowers to offer to the god and to distribute among the villagers. At least one person from the deceased family where death

occur must go to *kansa* land to offer food and fruits in the memory of the departed soul. They fix white flags, on which some Buddhist *mantras* are written. This is done as this area is a mixed-religion area.

On this festival, people relish *chilta*, *poltu*, milk, butter, *chhach* and *chulli-chutni*. On this day, the Rajput provide food to their own artisans related through *domang* and *chamang binana*.

Previously, villagers were giving sacrifice of a goat. But since the last 10-15 years they are not in favour of sacrifice on the occasion probably because of Hindu impact. Further the non-availability of cheaper goat due to closure of Indo-Tibetan border may also be factor. Thus they are not willing to part with costly and limited livestock. In the recent years, educated villagers have tried and restricted to dance throughout the night in order to avoid chaos, illegal and immoral activities committed by drunkards. Thus these days, this fair is dispersed before mid-night.

Bees Bhadon

This festival is observed on the 20th Bhadon (August-September) in the Zones II, III and some parts of the Zone I. In Kongos village this is known as *gagaro* while in the Zone I this festival is mixed with *maintoko* and *fulaich* festivals.

The main purpose of this festival is to worship village *devi/devta* and all other subordinate deities of the village on the arrival of livestock from *kanda* to the village. As harvest starts the livestock is kept in the same field so that cultivable land would be fertilized by the excreta of the livestock. The livestock remain there for a month or so. Thereafter cattle are taken to low land in *dogen* whereas sheep and goats, if these be in good number, are taken to the plains areas. On this occasion, this worship is done on the arrival of livestock to the village from the plains with the departure of this is done to project there livestock wealth. For this, villagers worship the presiding deities of fire, disease and wind etc.

On this occasion, Kongos people get food from the temple (Mahesur) of Sungra side. Thereafter they sing and dance with the playing of the musical instruments. This continues till the fall of night.

These days, Kongos and Sungra people (Zone II) are correlating this festival to the *janmashtami* following the Hindu of the plains. Villagers are of the opinion of that this *gagro* festival is the same as the birth-day festival of Krishna. Consequently, these days they also worship Lord Krishna.

Ookhayang

This festival is celebrated throughout the district in different names such as *fulaich* (in Rogi and Kalpa area) *ookhayang*, (in Kongos, Nachar area) *menthoko* or *subtoh* (in Kanum and Namgia respectively of Pooh area). This festival of flowers has got importance in Kinnaur. It is celebrated in the Zones II, III and some parts of Zone I during 10th *Bhado*

(August-September) to the beginning of *Kartik* (October). This festival starts from Sarahan in Rampur tehsil and then extends to Kinnaur district particularly from Rupi village, where this starts from 10th *Bhado*. *Fulaich* is observed for 2-3 days and in some places for 4-5 days.

The main purpose of this festival is to perform annual death rites *ating*, if death occurred in a household during the preceding year. After that flowers are offered to the members to end mourning in the family and to rejoice in feast and festivals like others. Thus this is known as festivals of flowers as the very name of the festival is significant. Besides, local *devi/devta* is brought out of the temple where people worship the deity. The worship is followed by folk-dance and music.

A village or a set of villages has its own date for the observance of the festival yet prior consent of the local *devi/devta* is taken.

The variation of the date of the observance of the festival is mainly due to the peculiar ecological settings in the various altitudes. Since this is festival of flowers, so date is fixed when flowers are found in abundance or before the withering starts in high *kanda* or in the village or in a set of villages. Secondly due to variation in altitude and position of this start of the village flowering earlier or later. Thirdly, villagers also try to observe the festival in leisure hour prior to the harvest or thereafter, without much strain given to agricultural operations. Fourthly, since annual death rite *ating* is essentially performed in *fulaich* festival in the family where death occurred during the preceding year or so, near relatives are expected to attend this. On the other hand, this is very important festival in which everybody likes to remain in his house. Moreover, long time taken to cover distance in hilly areas nearby villages or a set of villages has the same date and the villages at a distance, have different dates. This is to mention that only the *ating* ceremony is performed in *sherken* festival in Kanum and other villages of Zone I. In this occasion, the deceased family extends invitation to the villagers and relatives for feast in which they offer *poltu*, *halwa*, *chilta*, *sattu* (mixture of fried wheat and barley flour) and local drinks. Every Rajput family offers food to ones own artisans (*domang* and *chamang binana*).

This festival is not observed in Chango village of the Zone I but villagers of Kongos (Zone II) and Rogi (Zone III) participate with enthusiasm and devout.

Ookhayang is observed jointly in Kongos, Sungra and Ponda under the blessing of Mahesur *devta* of Sungra. From 12th to 15th of *Asoj* (October). On the 11th *Asoj*, 6-7 person, deputed every year in turns, by Mahesur *devta*, like to the high *kanda* to pluck flowers of *zonger* (golden in colour) particularly and several other types of flowers. Those persons keeping fast, go to *kanda*, carry the bow of Lord Shiva from the temple. After collecting flowers, these people come down and stay in any place away from the village. The bow is carried in order to ward off the evil spirit of *kanda* and not allow these spirits to come in the village. All the villagers go there alongwith the *devta*. There flowers are distri-

buted to all the villagers. The villagers offer *poltu* and *halwa* to the deputed persons. Then all the persons come to Mahesur temple where they dance with instrumental and vocal music. Every man and woman come in the best dress, enjoys and participates in dance and music till late night. These days late night programme is avoided. This festivity goes on for 4 days. During this period they eat good food, drink locally made *chhang* and *arakh* with meat etc. They incur lot of expenditure.

On the 4th day, Mahesur *devta* is worshipped. After that subordinate *devta* are also worshipped. Previously, on this occasion, several goats and sheep were sacrificed. These days, sacrifice is not given particularly to Mahesur *devta*. Villagers informed that *devta* does not like to accept sacrifice. But Mahesur sometimes permit and allow to give sacrifice to subordinate *devta*. In lieu of a sacrifice, *devta* accept a model of sheep or goat made of *sattu* (mixed flour of wheat and barley). This is in practice for the last 10-12 years.

The Gazetteer of Bushahr State 1910 reports that *phulech* fairs had been 'an important feature of the social and religious life of the people'. It states, "They are held in various places during the month of Bhadon (August-September). The Phulech is properly speaking a service for the soul of the deceased ancestors, but it is also the annual jollification of the entire neighbourhood. The name is supposed to be connected with *phul*, a flower. Certainly flowers, the blue monkshood (*aconitum heterophyllum*) in particular, play a prominent part in the ceremony, and the *phulech* always takes place when monkshood is in flower. Proceedings begin with the inevitable sacrifice. Each group of them provides a goat, which is covered with shawls and hung with wreaths of flowers. The relatives encircle it and mourn for their ancestors. Food and alms are provided. The Lamas recite prayers for the dead, and receive food and alms. When the goat has been slaughtered, the wreaths are transferred to the necks of the worshippers and a feast begins, which lasts for two to three days, and a considerable quantity of liquor is consumed by both men and women. Both sexes dance together and utmost licence prevails. The *phulech* brings to an end the period of mourning by relations of all persons who have died during the preceding year" (1911 :45).

Diwali

Diwali festival is celebrated for two days by the end of Kartik or in the first week of Agrahana (October-November). This festival is mainly observed in Zone II and Zone III. But in some places of Zone I also this is celebrated in the name of *dewali* or *khawangri* (in Kanum village of Zone I). The date is announced by Mahesur *devta* in Kongos village by Narain of Rogi and Dabla of Kanum through the oracle. On this occasion, those gods are worshipped and *hawan* is performed. The *devta* is brought out and a fair is held.

In all these villages, some grains are collected from every house

for the community feast. The houses where birth of male child took place during the preceding year contribute more.

In the evening, all light the woodstick or torch wood to celebrate this festival of light. On this occasion, villagers clean their houses and walls are plastered with mud and cowdung. The Kinnaurese are correlating this to the festival of light of the plains. Actually, cleaning of the house and proper plastering of walls are done to avoid cold wind during chilly-winter of the region. Winter starts after this festival.

Sazo

Sazo or *sajja* festival is observed with enthusiasm and devout in Zone II, III and some parts of Zone I. On the *sankrant* day or on the 1st Magh (January-February). This festival is known as *sazo* or *sajja* in Zone II but in Zone III and some parts of Zone I, it is called of *lahmoche*. This is very important festival of the region because village *devi* or *devta* is believed to go to Kinner Kailash or heaven to attend a meeting of gods. Whereas in Zone I, it is believed that the village deity has gone to Sungra village, Nachar sub-division to participate in the meeting of deities in order to bring good agricultural crops and general prosperity. This festival is just organised to bid farewell to *devi/devta*. It is the common belief that village *devi/devta* after returning from respities will foretell, regarding the general happening, crop position, epidemics and animal diseases, etc. in the ensuing year.

On this occasion, Mahesur in Kongos, Sungra, Narain of Rogi and Dabla of Kanum, Nagia and other places are worshipped. *Puja* starts from early morning. Elder female of the house take bath and prepare good food, such as *poltu halwa*, rice, etc. to offer to respective *devta* and *kimsu*. During night guns are also fired to ward off the evil spirits as *devta* is on way to heaven. Respective *devi/devta* returns after 15 days or so. The date of return is fixed by village god/goddess.

This festival is observed for only one day. In the noon after relishing good food and *ghanti* (local wine) villagers dance and play on musical instruments. They do not dance from the same evening till the arrival of the *devi/devta*. During this period of absence of the god from the village, they do not observe any function such as marriage, do not play on musical instrument refrain from cutting wood, etc. in order to avoid noise.

All the villagers wait silently for 15 days and become very curious to know about the ensuing year. During this period all adornments are kept, palanquin is folded and temple is closed.

On the 15th day, in all the regions *suzab* festival (in Zone II & III) or *satpang gyatma* or *chuhy-iad-lashol* (in Zone I) is observed with enthusiasm, devout and fearfulness. Even then villagers generally hope that *devta* would bring bo'on and good news for them from the conference of deities. This festival is performed on the 15th of *Magh* or by the end of *Magh* (February). In Kongos this festival is known as *shukimtang*.

Then palanquin is unfolded and *devta* is brought out and worship is done by the *pujar*. After the worship the *devta* conveys everything regarding the ensuing year through oracle (*grokch*) of the village. If the year is prosperous having bumper crop then fearfulness of the villagers turns into hope, consequently they rejoice and dance with full devotion and enthusiasm. There is another way to know about ensuing year through a box (*etharo*) kept inside the temple. If there would be much rain or in case of bumper crop, there would be the particular grain or its *chhilka*. In case of charcoal or wooden piece, there would be epidemic. If hair of animals is found, then animal disease will spread and in case of good crops of Chulli, beach etc. then pieces or seeds are seen there.

On this occasion, the Rajput entertain guests by providing feast. The artisans, the *chamant* and the *domang* with whom they have *binana* relation, are also entertained.

In case of favourable year, they dance and sing. The fair is held for two days.

Songya

This festival is also known as *mahang songa* in Kanum village of the Zone I. In the Zone II and III villages, this is celebrated in the name of *Songya*.

This festival is observed for a day or two sometimes in the month of Magh (January-February) after *suzab* festival. Date is fixed by the local deity. On this occasion deity is brought out where folk-dance starts.

The main purpose of this festival is to appoint or to make contract with own artisans such as the *sui* (tailor) the *chamang* (weaver), the *domang* (blacksmith and silversmith) the *ores* or *badhi* (carpenter). If high caste people or the Rajput do not have all these artisans or like to change them due to unsatisfactory work of these artisans the changes are done during this festival. Besides, those Rajputs who require to employ some servants, *fual* (herdsman) and *halas* (poloughman), they appoint these service-man for a year or more particularly on this occasion. Thereafter, all these artisans and specialists get food comprising of *khuras*, *chiltas*, meat, *sattu* and *ghanti* from their own *dhamesh* (the Rajput) for all the member of the family. In this way artisans and specialists belonging to the Scheduled Castes are also entertained by the Rajput of the region.

These people are employed only on the basis of hope given or foretells by deity in *suzab* or *satpang gyatma* festival. The Kinnaurese have firm belief on the message of oracle.

On this occasion, family-god *kimsu* is also worshipped. Relatives of the village exchange their food and relish. In this festival goat's meat is kept for drying which is relished on important occasions.

Faguli

This festival is observed in the month of Falgun (February-March) throughout Kinnaur district. But date is fixed by the village deity. This festival is also known as *suskar* in Rogi village. Of the Zone III, *faguli* in Kongos of the Zone II and *lamat* in Kanum of the Zone I, this festival falls during the leisure period of the year. There is no agricultural operation as in all agricultural fields snow remains. The winter is almost over. Hence the Kinnaurese celebrate this occasion for a week or more with full vigour.

On this occasion, goddess Kali alongwith other village deities is worshipped. In Kongos and Sungra villages, pure or real *Kanya* (girls who have not attended puberty) are invited for feast on the Mahesur temple's expenditure. It seems that worship according to the prescription of Sakticult is also done there.

The social aspects of this festival are observed there. During this occasion, the *baisi* (middle man in marriage) are invited in their respective house or house by the women concerned. They are entertained with good food and *ghanti* (local wine), etc. Community participation is done there during festival where the Rajput dance and the Koli, Badhi and Lohar play on musical instruments. Besides this, the Rajput provide food and *ghanti* to one's own artisan (the Chamang and Domang) for seven days.

During this festival, generally *devi/devta* is carried to the villages of his jurisdiction in the Ghor.

For all these 7 to 10 days they dance, play on music, making amusement and participate in sports, etc.

These days, as far as possible, sacrifice is avoided but local wine is offered to the deities and in turns that is served to the villagers as *Char-namrita*.

Besides all above festivals, two fairs are organised on the 26th of January and 15th of August on the eve of Republic Day and Independence Day respectively. More or less these two fairs are held in each and every village and with much enjoyment and enthusiasm. Authorities in district and sub-divisional Headquarters at Kalpa, Pooh and Nachar also arrange these fairs with great pomp and grandeur.

On this occasion, they dance with the musical tone. Students take part in sports and such other activities.

Both fairs are held throughout the district in all the three zones.

FESTIVALS OF CHANGO, ZONE I

Common fairs and festivals have been described earlier. But particularly in Chango village, all those festivals are not observed in the Hangrang valley of Zone I. Chango is in Hangrang valley and it has its own festivals and fairs like those of other places of the Zone I where Buddhism

is dominant. But these festivals and fairs are entirely different from those of Zone II & III in this respect.

The following festivals are celebrated in Chango and other places of Hangrang valley.

Lossar

This festival is observed in the bright fortnight of Paush (January) every year. This is the first festival of the year. Hence, the villagers celebrate the new year day with great enthusiasm and zeal for 3 days.

As this is beginning of the new year, so everybody likes to see *brayangs*, *stupa* made of flour as a mark of prosperous year. Thus an elderly person of the house gets up early in the morning and prepares this. A *stupa* (cone) made of barley flour, some fruits like chilgoza, a bottle of wine, all these things are kept in a plate (*thali*) and a lamp is lit in it. This makes the *brayangs*. After that they take curd or *chhach* (butter-milk) for good year.

On this occasion, all young men and women upto the age of 45 move to their relatives' houses in the village in order to pay respect to elders. These persons are entertained with rice, bread (*chilta*, *poltu*), *sattu* and wine (*arak* and *chakhti*), etc. In case of female, wine is not served.

In the midday all assemble to sing and dance in the *santhang*. This continues for three days. On this occasion *sabro* and *shuoncha* dances are organised.

The villagers go to the monasteries in the village where they sing and dance. The *lama* and *zomo* also participate in this activity.

On the eve of the new year, religious flags are unfurled in each and every house. Paintings and other decorations are done on the walls by solution of maiz flour.

Dazu

This festival is observed in the first week of *Magh*. But exact date is fixed by the *lama* after consulting religious calender (*pothi*).

The name of the festival is significant. *Da* and *zu* mean bow and arrow respectively. Thus this is a festival of bow and arrow. On this occasion, all young men of the village participate in the bow-arrow play. They collect snow and make a doll and shoot it by arrow. Thereafter, they make a shooting point on doll or on a ball made of snow. The winners are very much respected and felicitated on the occasion. They are entertained with *chhang* (local wine) and given ovation.

The villagers had to face many dacoits, plunderers and infiltrators in the past. This bow and arrow was one of the weapons to face undesirable persons.

All go to the monasteries of the village. Female folk participate in dance and songs. This continues for 3 days.

Rokfo

This festival is celebrated in the first week of *Falgun* (February) every year. Its date is decided by the lama. The festive occasion continues for four days.

The meaning of *rokfo* is mutual good relation which is justified by mutual hosting. All households of Chhangmat hamlet make one party and the other party comprise Changthot householders. From Changmat, persons of one household go to another house of Changthot for two days alternately. On the second day, the same hosts come to Chhangmat in the same house for two days alternately. Generally, all go on their horse and mules.

Prior to this festival, all persons gather in a place where they decide as to which member of the family will go to which family. This is fixed by lottery system.

On the first and third day, villagers of Changmat hamlet go to Changthot hamlet. In the evening all return to their respective houses. On the 2nd and 4th day inhabitants from Changthot hamlet reciprocate their visit in the Changmat hamlet and return in the evening.

On this occasion, guests are entertained by tasty food like, *poltu*, rice, dal, vegetables and *lagi* and sumptuous drinks like saltish tea, sweet tea, wine (*arak-chhang*), etc.

Throughout the day, guest stays at host's house and participate in dance and songs in the *santhang* of that hamlet.

On this occasion, the Rajput goes to his own caste people house, so is the case with the Koli.

Namgan Chuan

This festival is observed in the month of Srawan (July-August) for a day only. The date is fixed by the *lama*. Generally, this time crops start to ripen. Unless and until, this festival is celebrated, harvest does not take place. Because there is a belief that harvest before the observance of this festival invites crop failure in the next year.

On this occasion, every young man and woman takes bath and then goes to *dhar* (stream) near *kankani* (gate) of the village. *Devta* like Yulsa, Gyalbo and Dabla are carried there. Where *devi/devtas* are provoked by the *ladak* (oracle). Villagers ask to deities regarding the prosperity of villagers including agricultural yield, epidemic and animal diseases, etc. in the ensuing year. If, the coming year is anticipated to be favourable then all men and women sing and dance. Musical instruments are played on. They joyfully observe this and drink *arak* and *chhang* (local wine) time to time to accelerate the activities. By the evening all return to the village where they continue to sing and dance till mid-night.

Namgan Chhiya

This festival is observed for 3 days in the last week of *asoj* or in the

1st week of *Kartik* (October-November) in the Hangrang valley. The exact date of celebration is fixed by the lama after consulting religious book. This is celebrated in leisure hour after harvest and other agricultural operations finish. Hence, they celebrate this with zeal and rejoice. After this, as winter draws nearer some people leave their village for plains area for winter migration as well as to earn their livelihood.

On the first day, Yulsa and Gyalbo are carried on the horse to the *kankani* (gate) of the village where all gather. Then a fair is held from noon to evening. Villagers attend the fair in their best dresses. They eat, drink and dance there till evening. In the meantime, persons of the deceased family engaged themselves in annual death rite (*ating*).

On this occasion, *ating* is performed by the members of the deceased families where death has occurred in the preceding year. In this annual death rite ceremony, family members offer (*kehu-tapcha*) good food and butter to the departed soul. After that *chilta*, *poltu*, etc. are distributed among relatives and friends witnessing and participating the fair.

Before this, *devta* Yulsa says through oracle that the spirits of the deceased persons have come. So the member of the family concerned can start to offer, food etc. now.

On the 2nd day, young male-folk go for horse race. They organise horse race in the agricultural field. There female folk and older people witness the race and enjoy. Again in the evening all gather in *santhang* where all sing and dance.

On the 3rd day, after taking their meals they gather in the *santhang* and all sing, dance and rejoice till the mid night.

Birth day celebrations of Bhawgan Buddha and Padsambhava are performed with great enthusiasm. This is observed in every month throughout the year. Date is fixed in every month by the lama after consulting religious book.

This is mainly observed by lama and zomos of the village. They gather in the monastery and perform worship. They also go on reading religious books and worship till the evening.

CHANGES IN THE KINNAURESE RELIGION

As stated earlier, Kinnaur is the meeting place of two religious faiths, Hinduism and Buddhism while the dominance of the former is in the northern part of Kinnaur (Zone I), monopoly of Hinduism is in the south (Zone II). Central Kinnaur is the meeting spot and common workshop of these two religions, though Hinduism has supremacy over the other religion. These two religions were playing their role uninterrupted for a long time. But change came slowly and gradually. So long the area was almost isolated in the pre-independence period, the change in the Kinnauri religion is not marked. But after independence when the new administrative set-up started giving them new spirit of administration, when the new communication system opened up the new contacts with

the rest of India, when modern education gave them new light of consciousness, new constructional and developmental schemes opened up new dimensions, the glimmer of urbanisation gave them the taste of modernisation, the changes in their religion became rapid and prominent. So after independence, their direct contact with the greater Indian Civilization, one of whose products is Hinduism, pleased them to accept Hinduism as prevalent in the plains. As such many Hindu deities have secured place in their pantheon. With the opening of the roads and bus service the Kinnaurese can easily go at any place of India. Many of them have visited different important places, cities and towns of India. Places of pilgrimage in different parts of India are also of great attraction to them. Many of them visited many important religious places. From these visits they gathered many religious ideas beliefs and practices, and ultimately these have secured place in the core of their religion. As we visited Pangi village we came to know that there was a deity in that village known as *Calcutta Kali* (i.e., Goddess Kali of Calcutta). On enquiry we came to know that when a batch of villagers of Pangi went to Calcutta on *Bharat darshan* tour, they visited the famous temple of Kali at Kalighat in Calcutta. They were impressed of the influence of the deity. They also started worshipping the same goddess in their village.

The Government Road Execution Force (GREF) or the Border Roads Organisation of the Government of India as popularly known, who are vested with the responsibility of constructing roads in the difficult and rugged border areas, is also to a great extent, responsible to bring changes in this border district. The employees and labourers of this organisation have established temples and shrines of goddess at many centres. Durga and many other Hindu gods and goddesses are propitiated in different places of the NH-22. Many stories are connected with the construction of these shrines. In many cases it is believed by both Kinnaurese and the workers of Border Roads, that only due to the blessings of these deities the construction of roads in very difficult terrains of this district was possible. And so out of their reverence they have constructed the temples and shrines of that deity in those places. Many of these temples are very close to their habitat. The Kinnaurese soon came to know those stories behind the foundation of the temples of the deities. As they came to know the supernatural powers of these Hindu deities, they started believing these deities and paying their homage to them. Gradually they started accepting these deities and taking them in their pantheon. As a result, gradually many new religious ideas came into existence in their religion, which were not prevalent in their isolated pre-independence society.

Further, after independence, many people from different parts of India, particularly from the plains areas, have come to this Himalayan district as administrators, teachers, businessmen, traders, labourers, contractors and others. As the Kinnaurese started having regular contacts

with them, they (Kinnaurese) started borrowing many of the latter's religious ideologies, beliefs and practices.

Another outstanding religious diversion is the change in the Buddhism practised by these people of Zone I and III. Of course, Zone III was experiencing the influence of Hinduism for a long time. But the infiltration of Hinduism in Zone I particularly in the Hangrang valley, has taken place only in recent years. As a result of opening up of the easy communication with the main land, the people of this region have developed a close attachment and contact with the people of other parts of India. And for this many elements of Brahminical Hinduism have made in roads in the culture of the people of this region. Changes in their religion are quite remarkable. Hindu religious beliefs and practices are quite apparent in the religion of the area. Now in the houses of many Kinnaurese pictures of many Hindu deities are found hanging. Many of them worship these deities regularly. Like their brethren in Zone II and III many of them also go to Hardwar for the final obsequial rites. They also consider *gangajal* as sacred and believe that this can purify the polluted objects. With the gradual increase of the influence of Hinduism in this region and also due to various other factors like modern education, new scope for better livelihood, new developmental scheme, new avenues for income, cash economy, etc. which came into force only after independence, their faith on Buddhism is gradually getting diluted. The ancient custom of Hangrang valley that some of the brothers (not the eldest) should leave the house and go to monastery to become lama and lead a monastic life, is no longer present. It has gone to that extent that now-a-days people dislike to become lama and to lead a monastic life. Sen's observation (1970 : 182) as tabulated below, gives some idea about this.

Name of the village	Total no of lamas	Age group of the lamas		
		below 25	25-39	40-65
Pooh	29	7	3	19
Namgia	25	4	5	16

It clearly indicates that the majority of the lama are in the age group of 40 to 65. While in the olden days at least 4 to 6 boys used to go the village monastery to become lama. Now for some years, not a single boy goes for it. Now the parents like to send their boys to the schools, to the field so that they can earn some cash. Many of them now think

that to send a boy to the monastery is but sheer wastage of time and energy. Instead, if they could utilise this manpower, they could earn more cash or crop.

Hinduism in Zone II and III have not also escaped from the grip of the change. Air of change has also shaken their traditional religious faiths. As in Zone I, here also people do not want to become a temple functionaries. They say that they waste much time for working for the temple. Rather, if they could devote this time in some other directions, they could get some economic benefit.

That the religious faith has slackened, can be proved from the fact that many persons who have taken temple land for share-cropping, are not paying the due share of produce to the temple and thus depriving it. Now they are not afraid of the curse of the deity.

For the economic and some reasons, the regular visits of the principal and sub-ordinate deities to one another (*bonning*, *bioling* and *parganaith* types) have become irregular and are not taking place for a long time in some cases.

Slackness of religious faith of the Kinnaurese can also be proved by the fact that many of them, particularly the educated and enlightened ones are no longer depending on the *devi* and *devta* for curing diseases. They rather prefer to go to the hospital, dispensary (allopathic, ayurvedic and other types) and the private doctors for treatment. Similarly, in many of their socio-religious problems they are not depending much on their *devi-devtas*.

On the whole the present day religion of Kinnaur is fast changing.

CONTINUITY AND CHANGE ; STRUCTURAL AND CULTURAL

CONTINUITY AND CHANGE : STRUCTURAL AND CULTURAL

Through the foregoing pages we have tried to show the structure and change in the society and culture of the people of Kinnaur district of Himachal Pradesh situated on the Indo-Tibetan international border.

The district of Kinnaur, as we have seen, is situated in the north-eastern part of Himachal Pradesh and has a common border with Tibet. That means this district is situated between the two civilizations, the Pan-Indian civilization at the one hand and the Sino-Tibetan civilization on the other. Being sandwiched by these two great civilizations, this region could escape the influence of neither India nor the country across the border, and as a result this Himalayan terrain is heavily impregnated with cultural traits from those two civilizations and has been carrying the same for centuries. At least the present Kinnauri culture gives a clear indication for that. Of course, the influence of Tibetan culture is undoubtedly very faint in comparison to Indian culture.

The domain, the Kinnaurese inhabit, can be divided into three distinct cultural zones. Zone I is that part of this district which touches the international border with Tibet covering the major part of Pooh sub-division of the district. Where Buddhism over-shadows Hinduism. Zone II covers the lower Kinnaur which includes Nachar sub-division bordering Simla district. This zone is characterised by the dominance of Hinduism and the vanquished Buddhism, and lastly Zone III as its very central situation between the above two zones, indicates the cultural pattern of the zone. It has accepted both the cultures simultaneously and the present culture of this zone clearly depicts the co-existence of both Buddhism and Hinduism. People of this zone have embraced both the religions simultaneously and also express their firm faith on both religions.

Another important factor is the peculiar ecology of the area. Being situated on the rugged mountainous terrains of high Himalayas, this district has peculiar ecological conditions. While Nachar sub-division is situated within the range of monsoon, it gets quite rain and is covered with thick vegetations. The Kalpa sub-division gets comparatively less monsoon rains and so vegetation is also less. But Pooh sub-division gets almost no rain and so the area is arid and vegetation is almost nil.

The people of this district, led almost an uninterrupted life till late fifty's when only it could shake off its age-old isolation and get the rays of modern communication system, even though the political status had changed thrice by this time—from princely state to a part of district of independent India and ultimately a fullfledged district. But with the opening of the modern communication, particularly the road transport, the face of this district has much been changed. The age-old isolation has collapsed and the shell of their tradition has broken down into pieces and the new cultural elements of the pan-Indian civilization have entered

into their cultural core and given it a new look. These changing structure and values are apparent in all aspects of their culture. These drifts are clearly visible not only in their day-to-day activities but also in their annual socio-cultural festivities. From their material, cultural and economic life to their socio-political and religious structures, each and every aspect of their culture gives the impression of change and persistence.

The ethnic composition of the villages show that most of the villages are multi-ethnic; if not, at least bi-ethnic. Two ethnic groups, the Rajput (Kanet) and the Koli, are everywhere present. But in majority of the villages the Lohar the iron and silversmith, and the Badhi, the carpenter and mason, are present. The Nangalu or the basket makers are found only in the Lower Kinnaur villages. In the present days in many of the villages one or two households of outsiders are found to be settled. They have come in connection with service or business. But most of the Kinnaur villages were devoid of such outsiders (except the people of Bushahr State) before 1950. Gradually people from various parts of the country came in connection with service or business in this tiny mountain district. The new administration also brought in a good number of non-Kinnaurese. Similarly, the constructional and development programmes also fetched a large number of outsiders. In connection with modern education, many persons from outside Kinnaur increased the village population of Kinnaur. These outsiders got settled in Kinnaur, and thus changed the traditional ethnic composition of the villages. And naturally their very presence in the district, even in the village, must have some impact on the life of the Kinnaurese.

In the material culture of the Kinnaur the impressions of both tradition and modernity are co-existent. Similarly the impact of the peculiar Himalayan ecology is clearly visible. The effects of the different ecological conditions in different areas of Kinnaur show clear impression in the style of the settlement of house type and many other things. Modern utensils and furniture are now found in many households of Kinnaur side by side with their traditional ones. The demand for these new type of utensils and furniture, clothings and ornaments, are readily increasing day by day. The modern cosmetics have replaced the traditional means of decoration and personal care.

Persistence and change have also characterised their economy. Of the three traditional occupations of the Kinnaur, viz., agriculture, sheep and goat rearing and trade with Tibet, the former two are still existing. At present these two still continued to be their main occupations. But the third one, i.e., the trade with Tibet has stopped with the closure of the border with Tibet during Chinese aggression over our country. The stoppage of the trade with Tibet and the closure of the border with Tibet definitely brought certain economic setback, at least for a temporary period, but the Government's initiative for the overall economic development of the district has solved this economic problem of these people

to a great extent. The various constructional and developmental works in the district are providing the Kinnaurese, with the sources of livelihood. The horticulture has attained a new dimension and indicates a very bright and prosperous prospect and so the Kinnaurese are getting more and more interested about the improved varieties of fruits. The only snag standing against the proper development of the fruit industry is the transport and marketing facilities. In the field of agriculture also sign of improvement can be noticed. People are showing their inclinations towards the improvement of agriculture, by using improved know-how, improved variety of seed, fertiliser etc. With the gradual development of market economy and their interest for cash economy, their economic ideology has much been changed.

Though the Kinnaurese have officially recognised as Scheduled Tribe yet it is clearly visible that caste system is offing. The two major social divisions of the Kinnaurese, the Khosia and the Beru clearly show the features of the caste. The Khosia or the Rajput (Kanet) are landowner and agriculturists. But the four caste groups, the Koli, the Lohar, the Badhi and the Nangalu have their specific caste occupations. All these castes serve the Rajput mainly in exchange of cereals or sometimes cash. Among the Rajput the most important social divisions are the *khel* and the *khandan*. While the former are endogamous, the latter are exogamous. Among both the *khel* and the *khandan*, some are superior while the others are inferior. The superior groups among both the *khel* and the *khandan* are holding the economic, social, political and the religious control in the society. Though the *khandan* exogamy is quite rigid, the *khel* endogamy has lost much of this rule is on the increase. It is interesting to note that both *khel* and the *khandan* systems are present only in Zone II and Zone III. In some parts of Zone I (Pooh tehsil) they are rudimentary while in some other parts (Hangrang valley) they are conspicuous by their absence. In the same way this *khel* and the *khandan* systems are conspicuous by their absence among all the castes belong to the Beru division, *i.e.*, the Koli, the Lohar, the Badhi and the Nangalu. Only among the Koli of Lower Kinnaur, some rudimentary division based on particular occupations like tailoring, spinning and weaving etc. have recently originated. Otherwise all these castes are directly divided into households without having any social division in between.

In case of marriage the expensive traditional negotiation type (*zanekang*) is gradually being replaced by the less expensive *dub dub* or marriage by elopement. Monogamy is the general practice now as polyandry and polygynandry is fast declining. People are not favouring polyandrous marriages. Similarly, in case of the household, the nuclear ones have outnumbered the polyandrous and polygynandrous type. Polygyny is rare in occurrence. While in Zone I the parents and their son form two separate household units after the birth of the first grand child, in Zone II and III such thing usually do not happen. The kinship

terms vary greatly in all the three zones. The terms in Zone II and III are more identical and different greatly from those of Zone I. The behaviour pattern among the various relatives also vary. The property follows in a collateral way in the polyandrous households but follow primo geniture in the nuclear households.

Binana system represents a very conspicuous and interesting symbiotic relationship between the Rajput on the one hand and the various other castes, on the other. This system symbolises the social integrity and solidarity between the Rajput and various other occupational castes.

In their political and administrative set up remarkable changes are noticed. The different old administrative set up which existed during pre-independence period, are no longer in existence. In exchange modern administrative set up has been promulgated in order to streamline the administration in this border district. The Deputy Commissioner, who is in charge of the district is the virtual head of all the Government departments. Now besides the district administration, the statutory local self Government, *i.e.*, Panchayat Raj system has been introduced in the village level. And this Panchayat system has replaced their age old traditional village council (*char bhai*) to a great extent. Both *Gram panchayat* and *Naya panchayat* are functioning side by side and are looking after the civil and judiciary aspects respectively of the village administration. Further, in recent years the movements lodged by different political parties have brought the ideological change in the political mind of the people and made them conscious about the rights and duties. Unlike in the past when the leadership for these Kinnaurese was taken by the members of the village council and the temple and monastery functionaries now-a-days new leaders have come up with new ideologies with them. They are various Government officials, school teachers and others.

Religion, as stated earlier has many peculiarities in Kinnaur. While Buddhism is dominant in the area adjoining Tibet, Hinduism has solely occupied the area adjoining Simla district. The central part, being sandwiched by both areas with two different religions, is the melting pot for both the religions and both the cultures. Here same household keeps faith in both Buddhism and Hinduism. Here for some problem the same family worships *devi/devta* in the temple and also calls in the lama from the monastery. However, in Buddhism dominant areas which cover most part of Pooh sub-division, the monastery (*lakhang* and *labrang*) are the central institutions for propagating religious beliefs and practices. The lamas are the religious head. They belong either to *dukpa* or *g'ellukpa* sect. Similarly the nun (*zomo*) also belong to these two sects. In Hindu dominated areas, *i.e.*, the whole of Nachar sub-division, the *devi/devta* are the central figures of religion. Various temples are the abode of these *devi/devta* and the temple administration run through some temple, functionaries (*kardar*), most important of whom are the *pujar*, the *grokch* and *matha*. These *devi/devtas* have hierarchy and the hierarchy is determined through their status as the presiding deity

of a village, or a *ghori* or a *khunt*, the administrative divisions of the Kinnaur of the past. After a specific interval these deities pay visits to one another and discuss about the local problems and the solutions. The welfare of the locality is the main topic of discussion. The said system is also prevalent in central Kinnaur. But in recent years some changes are visible. While in upper Kinnaur, the tentacles of Hinduism slackened the strong foundation of Buddhism in central and lower Kinnaur, the modernity and other factors have weakened the faith on religion of the people to some extent. On many occasions people do not go to the deity for expert advice but go to the modern experts for advice.

Thus we see that Kinnaur is passing through a transitional phase from tradition to modernity. Because of the strategic position of this district, the government is trying its best to bring overall development of the area, and it is expected that in a few years to come Kinnaur will be able to shake off fully the shell of isolation and will share modernity with the other parts of India.

A P P E N D I C E S

APPENDIX I

ETHNIC GROUPWISE DISTRIBUTION OF HOUSEHOLD BY COMPOSITION

Household composition	CHANGO			KONGOS			ROGI		
	Raj-put	Koli	OEG	Raj-put	Koli	OEG	Raj-put	Koli	OEG
1 Self	5	1	—	—	1	—	—	—	—
2 Self, Wi, with or without UmC	42	3	2	17	8	2	14	4	2
3 Either of Parents or UmC	9	1	—	4	1	—	3	5	—
4 Self & UmSi	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	—
5 Either of parents So, SoWi, with or without UmC	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	2	—
6 Self, Wi, Wi (W)Mo, WiumSi	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	—
7 Self Wi, umC, Fa(W) Si	1	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	—
8 Self, Wi, umC, (W)Mo, Br(w) Wi, BrumC	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	—
9 Self, Wi, umC (w)Si, SiumC	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	—
10 Self, Wi, UmSi, umC	—	—	—	—	1	—	—	1	—
11 Self, Wi, So, SoWi, SoumC, DaumC	—	—	—	—	1	—	—	1	—
12 Self, Wi, (W)Mo umC	4	—	—	2	2	—	—	—	—
13 Self, Wi, So, SoWi,umC	1	2	—	2	—	—	—	—	—
14 Self, Wi, Fa, Mo	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	—
15 (W)Mo, umC, FaFaumSi	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	—
16 Self, Wi, umC, FaBr	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	—
17 Self, (W)Mo, umBr	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	—
18 Self, Wi, (D)Br, umSi, umDa	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	—
19 Self, Wi, So, SoWi,umC	—	—	—	1	1	—	—	—	—
20 Self, Wi, umBr, umC	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	—
21 Self, UmSo, So, SoWi, SoumC	—	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	—
22 Self, Br, So, SoWi, SoumC	—	—	—	—	1	1	—	—	—
23 Self, Wi, mSo	2	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	—

APPENDIX I—*contd.*

ETHNIC GROUPWISE DISTRIBUTION OF HOUSEHOLD BY COMPOSITION

[illegible]

APPENDIX I—*contd.*

ETHNIC GROUPWISE DISTRIBUTION OF HOUSEHOLD BY COMPOSITION

Household composition	CHANGO			KONGOS			ROGI		
	Raj-put	Koli	OEG	Raj-put	Koli	OEG	Raj-put	Koli	OEG
49 Self, Wi, Wi, umC	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	1	—
50 Self, Wi Wi, So, So, Wi, So, Wi umDa	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	—
51 Drlg, Ei, yBr, (W)So	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	—
52 Self, Wi, yBr, (W)Mo, imSi,	—	—	—	—	—	—	2	1	—
53 Self, Wi, Br, Wi, (W)Mo, umC	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	—
54 Self, Wi, Br, umC	6	2	—	3	2	—	1	2	—
55 Self, yBr, Wi (W)Mo, umC, umSi	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	—
56 Self, Wi So, So, SoWi	1	—	—	1	—	—	1	—	—
57 Self, Wi, yBr, So, So, SoWi, SoumC	1	—	—	—	1	—	3	1	—
58 Self WiyBr, So, Wi, So, Da, So Da	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	1	—
59 Self, WiBr, (W)Mo, (Z)Si, (D)Si, umC, SiDa	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	—
60 Self, BrWi, Wi, umC (D)Si, SiumC, Mo(D)Si	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	—
61 Self, BrBr, Wi Br, Br, Wi(W)Mo	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	—
62 Self, Wi, So, Wi, So, Wi, WoWi, Da, SoC	2	—	—	1	1	—	2	—	—
63 Self, Wi, So, Wi, So, Wi, SoWi, SoC	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	—
64 Self, Wi, Br, (W)Mo, UmS, umC	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	—
65 Self, Wi, Br, (W)Mo, So, Wi, So, umC	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	—
66 Self, Wi, Br (W)Mo	1	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	—
67 Self, Wi, Br, umSi, umC	—	—	1	—	1	—	—	—	—
68 Self, Wi, Br, So, So, Wi, Da	—	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	—
69 Self, WiBr, So, Wi So, Wi, Da, So, umC	—	—	—	—	2	—	—	—	—

APPENDIX I—*contd.*

ETHNIC GROUPWISE DISTRIBUTION OF HOUSEHOLD BY COMPOSITION

Household composition	CHANGO			KONGOS			ROGI		
	Raj- put	Koli	OEG	Raj- put	Koli	OEG	Raj- put	Koli	OEG
70 Self, Wi, Br (W)Mo, (D)Si, umMo, Br	—	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	—
71 Self, Wi, Br, (W)Mo, (W)M, So, Wi, So, Wi	—	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	—
72 Self, So, Wi, So, Wi, So, umC	1	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	—
73 Self, Wi, Br, (D)Si, umC	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
74 Self, Wi, Br, (W)Mo, umDa, Mo, SiC	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
75 Self, WiBr, mDa, Hu	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
76 Self, Wi, Br	5	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
77 Self, Wi, Br, (W)Si, So, Wi, So Wi	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
78 Self, So, Wi, SoWi (S)Da, umDa	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
79 Self, So, Wi, So, Wi, umDa	2	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
80 Self, Wi, Br, Fa, Mo, umSi, umC	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
81 Self, Wi, Br, umDa, mSo	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
82 Self, Wi, Br, So, So, W, (W)Fa	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
83 Self, Wi, So, Wi, So, umDa(D)Da, (Z)Da	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
84 Self, Wi, Br, Br, So, Br, So, Wi, umDa	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
85 Self, So, WiSo, umDa, SoC	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
86 Self, Wi, Br, (W)Mo, Fa (W)Mo, umC	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
87 Self, Wi, Br, Fa(Z) S, umDa	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
88 Self, WiBr, (W)Mo, Mo(W)Si, umC	1	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	—
Total	111	10	5	40	30	3	40	22	2

APPENDIX II

KINSHIP TERMS OF THE KINNAURESE

English abbreviation	Zone I	Zone II	Zone III
1 FaFaFaFa and his Siblings	<i>meme</i>	<i>tete</i>	<i>pitete</i>
2 FaFaFaMo and her Siblings	<i>aabi</i>	<i>ayee</i>	<i>piteto</i>
3 FaFaFa FaMoFa, MoMoFa MoFaFa and their Siblings	<i>meme</i>	<i>tete</i>	<i>kotete</i>
4 FaFaMo, FaMoMo, MoFaMo and their Siblings	<i>aabi</i>	<i>ayee</i>	<i>kotego</i>
5 MoMoMo	<i>aabi</i>	<i>ayee</i>	<i>koapi</i>
6 FaFa and his Siblings	<i>meme</i>	<i>tete</i>	<i>tete</i>
7 FaMo and her Siblings	<i>aabi</i>	<i>ayee</i>	<i>tego</i>
8 MoFa and his Siblings	<i>meme</i>	<i>tete</i>	<i>mapotete</i>
9 MoMo and her Siblings	<i>aabi</i>	<i>ayee</i>	<i>mapotego/aapi</i>
10 FaFaElBr FaYoBr	<i>aaba</i>	<i>bau</i>	<i>bubba/bau</i>
11 MoElSiHu, MoYoSiHu	<i>aou</i>	<i>bau</i>	<i>bubba/bau/bapu</i>
12 Mo MoElSi	<i>amma</i>	<i>aao</i>	<i>amma/aao</i>
13 FaElBrWi, FaYoBrWi, MoYoSi	<i>mejung</i>	<i>aao</i>	<i>amma/aao</i>
14 FaElSi, FaYoSi, MoBrWi	<i>anne</i>	<i>nei</i>	<i>nane</i>
15 FaElSiHu FaYoSiHu, MoBr	<i>aajong</i>	<i>mama</i>	<i>mama</i>
16 HuFa	<i>aajong/chyokkho</i>	<i>ruh</i>	<i>ruh</i>
17 WiFa	<i>aajong</i>	<i>aapa</i>	<i>aapa</i>
18 HuMo, WiMo	<i>anne</i>	<i>eume</i>	<i>eume</i>
19 ElBr(ms), ElBr(ws) MoBrElSo, WiElSiHu HuElSiHu, SoWiFa, DaHuFa	<i>aaju</i>	<i>aate</i>	<i>aatr</i>
20 ElSi(ms), ElSi(ws), FaElSiDa, MoElBrDa, HuElBrWi, WiElBrWi	<i>aaji</i>	<i>dai/dao</i>	<i>dao</i>
21 ZoWiMo, DaHuMo	<i>aaji</i>	<i>bareh</i>	<i>bareh</i>
22 MoElSiSo	<i>aaju</i>	<i>aate</i>	<i>maosre</i>
23 MoElSiDa	<i>aaji</i>	<i>dai/dao</i>	<i>maosri</i>
24 YoBr(ms), YoBr(ws)	<i>noh</i>	<i>baich</i>	<i>aate</i>
25 YoSi(ms), YoSi(ws)	<i>nomo</i>	<i>dai/baich</i>	<i>dao</i>
26 MoYoSiDa, MoBrYoDa, FaYoSiDa, HuYoBrWi WiYoBrWi	<i>nomo</i>	<i>dai/baich</i>	<i>baich</i>
27 MoYoSiSo, MoBrYoSo, WiYoSiHu, HuYoSiHu	<i>noh</i>	<i>baya</i>	<i>baya</i>

APPENDIX II—*contd.*

KINSHIP TERMS OF THE KINNAURESE

English abbreviation	Zone I	Zone II	Zone III
28 FaElBrDa	<i>pomo</i>	<i>dao/dai</i>	<i>dao</i>
29 FaYoBrDa	<i>pomo</i>	<i>baich</i>	<i>baich</i>
30 FaElBrSo	<i>tuyu</i>	<i>aate</i>	<i>aate</i>
31 FaYoBrSo	<i>tuyu</i>	<i>aate</i>	<i>baya</i>
32 FaElSiSo	<i>chhao</i>	<i>aate</i>	<i>aate</i>
33 FaYoSiSo	<i>chhao</i>	<i>baich</i>	<i>baya</i>
34 Hu	<i>myiin</i>	<i>aang chhongme/ aang dach</i>	<i>dach</i>
35 Wi	<i>chhammo</i>	<i>aang naar/ aang gone</i>	<i>gone</i>
36 WiElBr, WiYoBrDa ElSiHu(ms) YoSiHu	<i>sakpo</i>	<i>sakpo</i>	<i>sakpo</i>
37 WiElSi, WiYoSi, ElSiHu(ws), YoSiHu(ws)	<i>baisa</i>	<i>baisa</i>	<i>baisa</i>
38 HuElBr, HuYoBr	<i>kongoma</i>	<i>bareich</i>	<i>bareich</i>
39 HuElSi, HuYoSi, ElBrWi(ms), YoBroWi(ms), ElBrWi(ws)	<i>chhammo</i>	<i>bareh</i>	<i>bareh</i>
40 So, ElBrSo(ms), YoBrSo(ms), ElSiSo(ws), YoSiSo(ws), WiElSiSo, WiYoSiSo, HuElBrSo, HuYoBrSo	<i>tuyu</i>	<i>chhang</i>	<i>chhang</i>
41 Da, ElBrDa(ms), YoBrDa(ms) ElSiDa(ws), YoSiDa(ws), WiElSiDa, WiYoSiDa, HuElBrDa, HuYoBrDa	<i>pomo</i>	<i>chime</i>	<i>chime</i>
42 ElSiSo(ms), WiElBrSo, WiYoBrSo	<i>chhao</i>	<i>bhanja</i>	<i>bhanja</i>
43 ElSiDa(ms), YoSiDa(ms)	<i>chhammo</i>	<i>bhanji</i>	<i>bhanji</i>
44 ElBrSo(ws), YoBrSo(ws) HuElSiSo, HuYoSiSo	<i>chhao</i>	<i>banuch</i>	<i>banuch</i>
45 ElBrDa(ws), YoBrDa(ws) HuElSiDa, HuYoSiDa	<i>pomo</i>	<i>banuch</i>	<i>banuch</i>
46 WiElBrDa, WiYoBrDa	<i>pomo</i>	<i>bhanji</i>	<i>bhanji</i>
47 DaHu	<i>makpa</i>	<i>chhad/makpa</i>	<i>chhad</i>
48 SoWi	<i>nama</i>	<i>stem</i>	<i>stem</i>
49 SoSo, DaSo	<i>chhao</i>	<i>spach</i>	<i>spach</i>
50 SoDa, DaDa	<i>chhammo</i>	<i>spach</i>	<i>spach</i>

APPENDIX III
LIST OF DEVI/DEVTA

Name of Devta	KALPA SUB-DIVISION	Name of village
1 Devta Nag		Baring
2 Devta Badri Nath		Barsering
3 Devta Nag		Barua
4 Devta Naraines		Chasu
5 Dewta Thakur		Chitkal
6 Devi Mathi		Chitkal
7 Devta Shamsheer Sahib		Chitkal
8 Devta Thakur		Kalpa
9 Devta Vishnu Narain		Kalpa
10 Devta Badri Nath		Kamru
11 Bhima Kali Temple (in fort)		Kamru
12 Devta Ghatiyal		Kanahi
13 Devta Markaling		Khangi
14 Devta Naraines		Kilba
15 Bhairon Temple		Koti
16 Devi Chandika		Koti
17 Devta Maheshwar		Mahbar
18 Devta Shasherang		Pangi
19 Devta Parka Shankras		Poari
20 Devta (Patangach) Ishu Narain		Purbani
21 Devta Labrang		Purbani
22 Devta Nag		Rakcham
23 Bhagwati Temple		Rakcham
24 Shamhras Temple		Rakcham
25 Devta Narain		Rogi
26 Devta Narain (Chorney)		Miru
27 Devta Nag		Sangla
28 Devta Nag		Sapni
29 Devta Narain		Sapni
30 Devta Naraines		Shong
31 Mahasu Temple		Telingi
NACHAR SUB-DIVISION		
1 Nagin		Bara
2 Ukha Devi Temple		Mara Kamba
3 Devta Kuldeo		Dutrang (Bhabha)
4 Devta Kumshu		Bei (Bhabha)
5 Devta Maheshwar		Bhabha
6 Devta Parogang		Bhabha
7 Devta Kumshu Temple		Kafnun (Bhabha)
8 Naraines Temple		Gramang (Bhabha)
9 Dharang Nag		Yangpa (Bhabha)
10 Devta Naraines		Chargaon
11 Devta Maheshwar		Chargaon
12 Nagin		Chhota Kamba
13 Hirma Devi Temple		Chora
14 Kuldeo		Ghrashu
15 Devta Gandarpas		Jani
16 Nag Temple		Kandar
17 Ukha Devi Temple		Nachar
18 Nag Temple		Natpa
19 Devta Narain		Punang
20 Pathoro		Punang
21 Devta Narain		Ramni
22 Teras		Rupi
23 Maheshwar Temple		Sungra
24 Devta Naraines		Sungra
25 Chiter Lekhu Temple		Taranda
26 Devta Naraines		Urni
27 Nag Temple		Yula

Name of Devta

Name of village

POOH SUB-DIVISION

1	Milakyum	Akpa
2	Nagin	Asrang
3	Naraines Temple	Asrang
4	Rapang Nages	Asrang
5	Dabla	Chango
6	Thakur Tisheyangyang	Chango
7	Devta Yulsa	Chango
8	Thakur Ringdangtingma	Charang
9	Deodum	Chuling
10	Thakur Dungyor	Chuling
11	Kali Temple	Chuling
12	Thakur Lagang	Chuling
13	Devta Naidak	Chuling
14	Thakur Narashing	Chuling
15	Dabla	Dabbling
16	Thakur Lagang	Giabong
17	Devta Tingma	Giabong
18	Devta Dabla	Hango
19	Deodum	Hango
20	Devta Naidak	Hango
21	Gyalbo	Hango
22	Kumehu	Hango
23	Pale	Hango
24	Thakur Lagang	Hango
25	Thakur Labrang	Hango
26	Gyangmagyum	Jangi
27	Thakur Dungyor	Jangi
28	Dodum	Kanum
29	Devta Dabla	Kanum
30	Thakur Kagyor	Kanum
31	Thakur Khachlagang	Kanum
32	Thakur Labrang	Kanum
33	Khandma Temple	Kanum
34	Devta Dungyor	Labrang
35	Devta Chhakoling Dumbar	Labrang
36	Thakur Dwarang	Leo
37	Devta Jyumatho	Leo
38	Tegtashu (Narain) Temple	Lipa
39	Thakur Dungyor	Lipa
40	Devta Urmig	Morang
41	Thakur Dungyor	Morang
42	Deodum	Nako
43	Thakur Lagang	Nako
44	Thakur Karmo Dumba (so many)	Nako
45	Purgueel	Nako
46	Bashehru	Namgia
47	Chola Temple	Namgia
48	Dabla	Namgia
49	Kuldeo Narayan	Namgia
50	Changchikyung	Nisang
51	Thakur Labrang	Nisang
52	Devta Dungyor	Pilu
53	Devta Shagan Chholang	Pilu
54	Devta Tisho Cholang	Pilu
55	Devi Kharmosho	Pilu
56	Bashehras	Pilu
57	Deodum	Pilu
58	Devta Dabla	Poo
59	Devta Lagang	Poo
60	Devta Thakur Chilah	Poo
61	Devta Thakur Dungyor	Poo
62	Devta Thakur Labrang	Poo
63	Devta Thakur Rungalang	Poo
64	Devi Durga Ji	Ribba
65	Devta Guruka	Ribba

Name of Devta

Name of village

POOH SUB-DIVISION

66 Devta Janba
67 Devta Kans Raj
68 Devta Kulyo
69 Thakur Narsing
70 Devi Chandika
71 Thakur Lagang
72 Devta Pathauroo
73 Devta Labrang
74 Gyalbo
75 Devta Jyumatho
76 Thakur Saindap Chholang
77 Shungma
78 Yulsa
79 Dabla
80 Durje Chhimbo
81 Thakur Sanga Chholang
82 Devta Yulsa
83 Thakur Dungyor
84 Devta Rapak Shankras
85 Thakur Dungyor

Ribba
Ribba
Rispa
Rispa
Ropa
Ropa
Rarang
Rushkling
Shalkar
Shalkar
Shalkar
Shalkar
Shalkar
Shiasu
Sumarh
Sumarh
Sunam
Sunam
Thangi
Thangi

APPENDIX IV
FESTIVALS OF KINNAUR

Sl. No.	Fairs and festivals	Area of observance	Month of celebration	Deity worshipped	Connected with purpose	Remark
1	Lossar	Zone I & II	Dec.-Jan. (Chuk Chikpa) (or Paush 25)	Padam Sam ^y bhah & Sakya Thaba	New Year Dau	
1a	Republic Day	Throughout Kinnaur	January, 26.	—	Republic Day	
2	Dazu	Zone I	Jan.-Feb. (Chuniba or Magh)	—	Play with Bow and Arrow	
3	Dszo	Zone II & III	Jan.-Feb. (Magh)	Village Deity	To bid farewell to village deity for heavenly abode for 15 days.	
4	Suzab	—do—	Jan.-Feb. (Magh)	Village Deity	After return of deity from heavenly abode.	
5	Dongya or Shukimang	—do—	Jan.-Feb. (Magh)	Village Deity	To employ plough man and servants. Con-tract with artisans.	
6	Faguli or Suskar	—do—	Feb.-March (Falgun)	Kali and Village Deity	Village Deity moves in the jurisdiction. Fejoice, Baisis and relatives are honoured.	
7	Rokfo	Zone I	Feb.-March (Tongbo or Falgun)	—	Mutual hosting.	
8	Chatrol	Zone III	March-April (Chaitra)	Narain Devta	New Year Day	

APPENDIX IV—contd.

FESTIVALS OF KINNAUR

Sl. No.	Fairs and festivals	Area of observance	Month of celebration	Deity worshipped	Connected with purpose	Remark
9	Bishu or Beesh	Zone II & III	April-May (Baisakh)	Village Deity	Welcome of spring and bid good bye winter season. Agricultural operation starts.	
10	Dakhraini	—do—	July-August (Srawan)	Local Deity & Shiva	Visit of Kanda for bringing flowers and to offer food to departed soul. After celebration harvesting of crops start.	
11	Namgan Chuyan	Zone I	July-August (Srawan)	Dabla, Yulsa & Gyalbo	After celebration harvesting of crops start.	
12	Bees Bhado or Gagro	Zone II	August-Sept. (Bhadra)	Village Deity subordinate deities.	Harvesting of crops start.	
12a	Independence Day	Throughout Kinnaur	August, 15	—	Independence Day.	
13	Fulaich or Ookhayang	—do—	Aug.-Sept. (Bhadra and Ashwin)	Village Deity	Festival of flowers, Annual death-rite (Ating) is performed.	
14	Diwali	—do—	Oct.-Nov. (Kartik)	—do—	Lightening and rejoicing.	
15	Namgan Chhiya	Zone I	Oct.-Nov. (Kartik)	Dabla, Yulsa	Rejoicing, Annual death rite observed.	
16	Khepa	Zone II & III	Nov.-Dec. (Agrahana)	Local Deity	Rejoicing in winter.	

B I B L I O G R A P H Y



BIBLIOGRAPHY

- | | | |
|------------------|----------------------|--|
| Agnihotri, B.S. | 1952-58 | <i>Air Force Trekking Society Records</i> . Chapter on Kinner Desh. |
| | 1959 | <i>The Legend of Kinner Desh</i> . Hindustan Times, dated: 20th September, New Delhi. |
| Allain, D. | 1964 | <i>Hindu Polytheism</i> , London. |
| Ali, A. | 1935 | <i>The Spirit of Islam</i> , Calcutta. |
| Aiyappan, A. | 1944 | <i>Iravas and Culture Change</i> , Madras. |
| Atkinson, E.T.H. | 1885-86 | <i>The Himalayan District of the North Western Provinces of India</i> (in three vols.), |
| | 1853 | <i>Notes on the History of Religion in the Himalaya of the North Western Provinces of India</i> , Calcutta. |
| | 1973
(orig 1882) | <i>The Himalaya Gazetteer</i> (in 3 vols.), Delhi. |
| Bailey, F.G. | 1957 | <i>Caste and the Economic Frontier</i> , Manchester. |
| Bailey, G.T. | 1911 | <i>Kinnauri Vocabulary</i> (in two parts). |
| | 1915 | <i>Linguistic Studies from the Himalayas being studied in the Granimar of Fifteen Himalayan Dialects</i> , London. |
| Bajpai, S.C. | 1970 | <i>The Northern Frontier of India, Central and Western Sections</i> , Calcutta. |
| Beidelman, T.O. | 1959 | <i>A Comparative Analysis of the Jajmani System</i> , New York. |
| Bell, Charles. | 1968a
(orig 1924) | <i>Tibet Past and Present</i> , London. |
| | 1968b
(orig 1928) | <i>The People of Tibet</i> , Oxford. |
| | 1968c
(orig 1931) | <i>The Religion of Tibet</i> , London. |
| Berreman, G.D. | 1960 | <i>Cultural Variability and Drift in the Himalayan Hills</i> . American Anthropologist, Vol. 62. |
| | 1961 | <i>Himalayan Rope Sliding and Village Hinduism: An Analysis</i> , South-western Journal of Anthropology Vol. 17. |
| | 1962a | <i>Pahari Polyandry : A Comparison</i> , American Anthropologist, Vol. 10. |
| | 1962b | <i>Caste and Economy in the Himalayas</i> , Economic Development and Culture Change; Vol. 10. |
| | 1962c | <i>Village Exogamy in the Northern-most India</i> , Southwestern Journal of Anthropology, Vol. 18. |

- | | | |
|-------------------------------|-------|---|
| Berreman, G.D. | 1962d | <i>Sib and Clan among the Pahari of North India</i> , Ethnology Vol. 1. |
| | 1964 | <i>Brahmin and Shamans in Pahari Religion</i> , Journal of Asian Studies, Vol. 23. |
| | 1972 | <i>Hindus of the Himalaya : Ethnography and Change</i> , Berkley. |
| Bhanja, K.C. | 1948 | <i>Mystic Tibet and the Himalaya</i> , Darjeeling. |
| Billington, M.F. | 1895 | <i>Woman in India</i> , London. |
| Blunt, E.A.H. | 1931 | <i>The Caste System of Northern India</i> —London. |
| Bose, N.K. | 1967 | <i>Culture and Society of India</i> , Bombay. |
| Briggs, J.D. | 1856 | <i>Report on the Operations connected with the Hindustan and Tibet Road from 1950 to 1955. Selection from the Records of the Government of India (P.W.D.)</i> Vol. 6, Calcutta. |
| Broom, L. & J.I. Kitsuse | 1955 | <i>The Validation of Acculturation, A Condition to Ethnic Assimilation</i> , American Anthropologist, Vol. 57, No. 1. |
| Bruce, C.G. | 1934 | <i>Himalayan Wanderers</i> , London. |
| Bruck, Edward.J. | 1904 | <i>Simla Past and Present</i> , Calcutta. |
| Burling, R. | 1963a | <i>Rengsanggri : Family and Kinship in a Garo Village</i> , Philadelphia. |
| | 1963b | <i>Garo Kinship and Analysis of the Meaning</i> , Ethnology, Vol. II No. 1. |
| Burrard, S.A. and H.H. Hayden | 1932 | <i>A Sketch of the Geography and Geology of the Himalaya Mountain and Tibet</i> (in three vols.), Dehradun. |
| Caplan, L. | 1970 | <i>Land and Social Change in East Nepal</i> , London. |
| Chandra, R. | 1972 | <i>Socio-Economic Study of the Kinnaurese of Himachal Pradesh</i> (unpublished report). |
| | 1973a | <i>Types and Forms of Marriage in a Kinnaur Village</i> , Man in India, Vol. 53, No. 2. |
| | 1973b | <i>The Notion of paternity among the polyandrous kanet of Kinnaur</i> (unpublished article). |
| | 1974 | <i>Polyandry in a Himalayan Village</i> (unpublished report). |
| Chattopadhyay, K.P. | 1957 | <i>On Polyandry</i> . Journal of Asiatic Society of Bengal (Science), Vol. 22 No. 2. |
| Chopra, Pran | 1964 | <i>On an Indian Border</i> , Bombay. |
| Choudhuri, N.C. | 1961 | <i>Acculturation of the Munda : A Study in Differential Change and Caste Formation</i> (unpublished Ph.D., dissertation). |
| Crooke, W. | 1896 | <i>Tribes and Castes of N.W.F.P. and Oudh</i> . Vol. III, |

- | | | |
|--------------------------------|------|---|
| Crooke, W. | 1897 | <i>The North Western Provinces of India, their History, Ethnology and Administration</i> , London. |
| | 1925 | <i>Religion and Folklore of North India</i> , London. |
| Das, A.K. & M. K. Raha | 1964 | <i>The Oraons of Sunderban</i> , Calcutta. |
| Das, S.R. | 1954 | <i>A Note on the Kinnaura</i> , Man in India, Vol. 34 No. 1. |
| Das, T.C. | 1945 | <i>The Purums : An Old Kuki Tribe of Assam</i> , Calcutta. |
| Das Gupta, H.C. | 1921 | <i>A short note on Polyandry in the Jubbal State (Simla)</i> . Indian Antiquity, Vol. 50. |
| David, Neel, A. | 1967 | <i>Magic and Mystry in Tibet</i> , London. |
| Davies, W. | 1896 | <i>Trade Report</i> , Lahore. |
| Drew, Frederic. | 1971 | <i>The Northern Barrier of India : A Popular Account of the Jammu and Kashmir Territory</i> , London. |
| Dube, S.C. | 1958 | <i>India's Changing Villages</i> , London. |
| Emenean, M.B. | 1938 | <i>Toda Culture—Thirtyfive years after : An Acculturation Study</i> . Ann. Bhandarkar Orien. Res. Inst. Vol. XIX, pt. 11. |
| Eggan, F. | 1949 | <i>The Hopi and the Lineage Principles</i> (in Social Structure, Ed. : F. Eggan and M. Forks). Oxford. |
| | 1950 | <i>Social Organisation of the Western Puoblas</i> , Chicago. |
| Etherton, P.T. | 1934 | <i>The Last Shonghold</i> , London. |
| Evans-Wentz, W.Y.(Ed) | 1970 | <i>The Tibetan Book of Great Liberation</i> , New York. |
| Fortes, M. | 1963 | <i>Time and Social Structure : Au Ashonti case study</i> (in Social Structure Ed. : F. Eggan M. Fortes) Oxford. |
| | 1964 | <i>Kinship and Marriage among the Ashanti</i> (in African System of Kinship and Marriage Ed : A.R. Radcliffe Brown and D. Forde). London. |
| Francke, A.H. | 1907 | <i>A History of Western Tibet</i> , London. |
| Fraser, J.B. | 1820 | <i>Journal of a Tour Through Part of the Snow Range of the Himala Mountains and to the Sources of Jamuna and Ganges</i> , London. |
| Furer-Haimendorf, C. Von. | 1966 | <i>Caste and Kin in Nepal, India and Ceylone</i> , Bombay. |
| | 1973 | <i>Contribution to the Anthropology of Nepal</i> , England. |
| 'Ganpat' | 1916 | <i>The Road to Lama Land</i> , London. |
| Ganhar, J.N., and P.N. Ganhar. | 1956 | <i>Buddhism in Kashmir and Ladakh</i> , New Delhi. |
| Gerard, A. | 1841 | <i>Account on the Koonawar in the Himalayas etc.</i> , London. |

- | | | |
|-------------------------------|-------|---|
| Ghurye, G.S. | 1952 | <i>Caste and Class in India</i> , New York. |
| Gorer, G. | 1938 | <i>Himalayan Village</i> , London. |
| Gough, K. | 1952 | <i>Changing Kinship Usages in the Setting of Political and Economic Change among the Nayars of Malaba</i> . Journal of Royal Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and the Ireland, Vol. 89. |
| | 1959 | <i>The Nayars and the Definition of Marriage</i> , Journal of Royal Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland, Vol. 89. |
| | 1964 | <i>A Note on Nayar Marriage</i> , Man. |
| Gould, H.A. | 1961 | <i>Sanskritisation and Westernisation : A Dynamic View</i> , Economic Weekly, Vol. 13, No. 25. |
| Govt. of Himachal Pradesh | 1965a | <i>Familywise Economic Survey of the Village Chango</i> (Memiographed). |
| | 1965b | <i>Familywise Economic Survey of the Village Kongos</i> (Memiographed). |
| | 1965c | <i>Familywise Survey of the Village Rogi</i> (Memiographed). |
| | 1965d | <i>Handicraft Survey of Kinnaur</i> . |
| | 1966 | <i>Himachal Pradesh Code</i> , Vol. II, Simla. |
| | 1971 | <i>Statistical Abstract, Kinnaur, 1970-71</i> , Simla. |
| | 1973a | <i>Statistical Abstract, Kinnaur, 1972-73</i> , Simla. |
| | 1973b | <i>Statistical Outline of Himachal Pradesh</i> , Simla. |
| | 1975 | <i>Economic Review, Simla</i> . |
| Govt. of Punjab | 1889 | <i>Punjab District Gazetteer, 1888-89</i> , Lahore. |
| | 1906 | <i>Punjab District Gazetteer, Lahore, Simla District 1904</i> . |
| | 1911 | <i>Punjab States Gazetteer, Vol. VIII, Simla Hill States, 1910</i> , Lahore. |
| | 1914 | <i>Administrative Report of Bushahr State 1914</i> . |
| | 1928a | <i>The Revised Assessment Report of Chimi, 1928</i> |
| | 1928b | <i>The Settlement Report of Chimi, 1928</i> . |
| | 1932 | <i>Legal Reforms in Bushahr</i> . |
| Heirrich, Z.R. | 1947 | <i>Myths and Symbols in Indian Art and Civilization</i> . |
| Hoffmann, H. | 1961 | <i>Religion of Tibet</i> , London. |
| Hutchinson, J, and J.P. Vogel | 1933 | <i>History of Punjab Hill States</i> , Vol. 1 & 2, Lahore. |
| Hutton, T. | 1838 | <i>Journal of a Trip through Kunawars, Hangrang and Spiti</i> , London. |

- | | | |
|-------------------------------|------|---|
| Ibbetson, D. | 1916 | <i>Punjab Castes</i> , Lahore. |
| Jain, S.C. | 1948 | <i>Some Features of Fraternal Polyandry in Jaunsar Bawar</i> , Eastern Anthropology. Vol. 1. |
| Jay, E.J. | 1970 | <i>A Tribal Village of Middle India</i> , Calcutta. |
| Johri, S.R. | 1964 | <i>Our Borderlands</i> , Lucknow. |
| Joshi, L.D. | 1929 | <i>The Khasa Family Law in the Himalayan Districts of United Provinces of India</i> , Allahabad. |
| Joshi, Sitaram, | 1964 | <i>Our Borderland</i> , Lucknow. |
| Joshi, Tikaram, | 1909 | <i>Grammar and Dictionary of Kanwari language of Kanwar</i> Ed. H.A. Rose. Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, Vol. IV. Extra. 1. |
| | 1911 | <i>Notes on the Ethnography of the Bushahr State, Simla Hills Punjab</i> . Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, Vol. VII No. 9. Ed. H.A. Rose, Calcutta. |
| Kapadia, K.M. | 1955 | <i>Marriage and Family in India</i> , London. |
| Kapoor, D.D. | 1971 | <i>People of Kinnaur—An Essay in the Problems of the Tribe</i> (in Tribal Situation in India Ed. Kumar Suresh Singh), Simla. |
| Karve, I. | 1953 | <i>Kinship Organisation in India</i> . Poona. |
| Kausal, R.K. | 1963 | <i>Kananiya Kinnaur</i> (in Hindi), Solan, H.P. |
| Kennedy, C.P. | 1915 | <i>Captain Kennedy's Report on the Protected Sikh and Hill Stations</i> , Lahore. |
| Kirkpatrick, C | 1955 | <i>The Family as Process and Institution</i> . New York. |
| Kirpatrick, G.S. | 1878 | <i>Polyandry in Punjab</i> . The Indian Antiquary, Vol. 7. |
| Landor, A.H.S. | 1899 | <i>In the Forbidden Land : An Account of a Journey in Tibet Captured by the Tibetan Authority Imprisonment, Torture and Ultimate Release</i> , London. |
| Leach, E.R. | 1955 | <i>Polyandry, Inheritance and Definition of Marriage</i> , Man, Vol. II. |
| | 1954 | <i>Political Systems of Highland Burma</i> , London |
| Lewis, O. | 1958 | <i>Village Life in North India</i> , Urbana. |
| Llyod, William and A. Gerard. | 1846 | <i>Narrative of the Journey from Caunpore to Boorendo Pass in Himalaya Mountains</i> (in two vols.), London. |
| Lowie, R.H. | 1947 | <i>Pimitive Society</i> , New York. |
| | 1960 | <i>Social Organisation</i> , New York. |
| Madan, T.N. | 1965 | <i>Family and Kinship : A Study of the Pandits of Rural Kashmir</i> , Bombay. |
| Mahato, S.N. and M.K. Raha. | 1975 | <i>The Kinnaurese of Western Himalaya</i> , Bulletin of Cultural Research Institute, Vol. XI, Nos. 1 & 2 (in press). |

- | | | |
|--------------------|----------------------|---|
| Majumdar, D.N. | 1940 | <i>Marriage Customs of Cis-Himalayan Tribes</i> , Madras. |
| | 1944 | <i>The Fortunes of Primitive Society</i> , Lucknow. |
| | 1955 | <i>Family and Marriage in a Polyandrous Society</i> , The Eastern Anthropologist, Vol. 6. |
| | 1962 | <i>Himalayan Polyandry</i> , London. |
| Mamgain, M.D. | 1971 | <i>Himachal Pradesh, District Gazetteer</i> , Kinnaur, Simla. |
| Mandelbaum, D.G. | 1938 | <i>Polyandry in Kota Society</i> , American Anthropologist, Vol. 40. |
| | 1941 | <i>Culture Change among the Nilgiri Tribes</i> , American Anthropologist, Vol. 43. |
| Marriot, McKim(Ed) | 1955 | <i>Village India</i> , American Anthropological Association, Vol. 57, No. 3, pt. 2. |
| Mathu, A.J. | 1963 | <i>Kinnauri Belle of the Himalayas</i> , Social Welfare, Vol. 10, No. 5. |
| Mayer, A.C. | 1960 | <i>Caste and Kinship in Central India</i> , Berkelay. |
| Mayne, U.D. | 1953 | <i>Hindu Law and Usage</i> , Madras. |
| Moor Craft, W.T. | 1837 | <i>Travels in the Himalayan Province of Hindustan and the Panjab in Ladakh and Kashmir and Bokhara</i> , London. |
| Manson, A. | 1916 | <i>Kiplings India</i> , London. |
| Murdock, G.P. | 1960
(orig. 1949) | <i>Social Structure</i> , New York. |
| Murray-Ansley. | 1822 | <i>An Account of Three Months' Tour from Simla through Busahir and Spiti to Lahaul, Calcutta.</i> |
| Negi, B.C. | 1971 | <i>Tarun Kinner</i> (Souvenir). |
| Negi, T.S. | 1972 | <i>Tribal Situation of Himachal Pradesh : Some Socio-economic Consideration</i> (in Tribal Situation in India Ed. Kumar Suresh Singh), Simla. |
| Negi, W.C. | | <i>A Primar of the Kinnauri Dialects.</i> |
| Nesfield, J.C. | 1885 | <i>A Brief View of the Caste System of N.W. Provinces and Oudh</i> , Allahabad. |
| Oakley, E.S. | 1905 | <i>Holy Himalayas</i> , London. |
| Palki, G.B. | 1959 | <i>In the Land of Kinnaurese</i> , Economic Review, Vol. 10, No. 16-18. |
| Palli, Marco | 1939 | <i>Peaks and Lamas</i> , London. |
| Pant, S.D. | 1935 | <i>Social Economy of the Himalayas</i> , London. |
| Parmar, Y.S. | 1968 | <i>Himachal Pradesh : Case for Statehood</i> , Simla. |
| | 1970 | <i>Himachal Pradesh : Area and Language</i> , Simla. |

- | | | |
|--------------------------|-------|---|
| Parmar, Y.S. | 1970 | <i>Strategy for Development of Hill Areas</i> , Simla. |
| | 1971 | <i>Thinking about Hills : Calls for Change</i> . |
| | 1975 | <i>Polyandry in the Himalayas</i> , New Delhi. |
| Prince Peter | 1955a | <i>Polyandry and the Kinship Group</i> , Man, Vol. 55. |
| | 1955b | <i>The Polyandry in Tibet</i> , Ethnologica Vol. II, pt. 1, Vienna. |
| | 1963 | <i>A Study of Polyandry</i> , The Hange. |
| Radcliffe Brown, A.R. | 1941 | <i>A Study of Kinship System</i> , Journal of Royal Anthropological Institute, Vol. 71. |
| | 1965 | <i>Structure and Function of Primitive Society</i> , New York. |
| Raha, M.K. | 1970 | <i>Social Organisation of the Rabhas</i> (unpublished Ph.D., dissertation). |
| | 1974 | <i>Highlanders of Western Himalaya</i> , Vanyajati, Vol. XXII, No. 3. |
| | 1975a | <i>Religion and Politics in Kinnaur</i> (unpublished article). |
| | 1975b | <i>Religion in Kinnaur : A Comparative Analysis</i> (unpublished). |
| | 1976a | <i>Changing Economy in a Himalayan Society</i> (unpublished article). |
| | 1976b | <i>Society and Religion in Kinnaur</i> (unpublished article). |
| | 1977 | <i>Stratification and Religion in a Himalayan Society</i> , in <i>Himalayan Anthropology</i> , Ed. James Fisher, the Hague (to be published). |
| Raha, M.K. & S.N. Mahato | 1974 | <i>The Kinnaurese Kinship System : A Terminological Analysis</i> , (to be published in Bulletin of the Anthropological Survey of India). |
| Ram Rahul | 1969a | <i>The Himalaya Borderland</i> , New Delhi. |
| | 1969b | <i>Government and Politics of Tibet</i> , Delhi. |
| Rivers, W.H.R. | 1932 | <i>Social Organisation</i> , London. |
| Rose, H.A. | 1919 | <i>Glossary of the Tribes and Castes of Punjab and N.W. Provinces</i> (in 3 vols.), Lahore. |
| | 1910 | <i>Punjab Customs, Law</i> , Lahore. |
| Sanskritayan, R. | 1953 | <i>Himalaya Prichya</i> (in Hindi) Vol. 1, Bombay. |
| | 1956 | <i>Kinner Desh</i> (in Hindi), Allahabad. |
| Saxena, R.N. | 1955 | <i>Social Economy of a Polyandrous People</i> , Agra. |
| Schneider, D.M. | 1953 | <i>Yap Kinship Terminology and Kin Groups</i> , American Anthropologist, Vol. 55, No. 2. |
| Sehgal, M.L. | 1969 | <i>Kinner Kailash</i> (Souvenir). |

- | | | |
|-------------------------------|-------|--|
| Sen, B. | 1970 | <i>Social Changes in the Himalayan Villages : A case study of three villages in Kinnaur District</i> (unpublished Ph. D., dissertation). |
| | 1971 | <i>Caste, Class and Leadership in a Himalayan District</i> (in <i>Tribal Situation in India</i> , Ed. Kumar Suresh Singh), Simla. |
| Sherring, C. | 1973 | <i>Western Tibet and British Borderland.</i> |
| Singh, K. Suresh (Ed) | 1972 | <i>Tribal Situation in India</i> , Simla. |
| Singh, M. | 1971 | <i>Himalayan Art</i> , London. |
| Singh, R.C.P. | 1963 | <i>Kothi : A Village Survey.</i> Census of India 1961, Vol. XX, Part. VI, No. 1. |
| | 1964 | <i>Nachar :A Village Survey.</i> Census of India 1961, Vol. XX, Pt. VI, No. 17. |
| | 1965a | <i>Kanum : A Village Survey.</i> Census of India 1961, Vol. XX, Pt. VI, No. 12. |
| | 1965b | <i>District Hand-Book of Kinnur</i> , Census of India, 1961. |
| | 1965c | <i>The Art of Weaving</i> , Census of India 1961, Himachal Pradesh. |
| | 1965d | <i>Gold and Silver Ornaments</i> , Census of India, 1961, Himachal Pradesh. |
| Sinha, S.C. | 1957a | <i>The Media and Nature of Hindu-Bhumij Interaction.</i> Journal of Asiatic Society of Bengal, Vol. XXIII, No. 1. |
| | 1957b | <i>Tribal Cultures of India as a Dimension of a Little Tradition in the study of Indian Civilization : A Preliminary Statement</i> , Man in India, Vol. 37, No. 2. |
| Snellgrove, D & H. Richardson | 1968 | <i>A Cultural History of Tibet</i> , London. |
| Srinivas, M.N. | 1956 | <i>A Note on Sanskritization and Westernization</i> , Far Eastern Quarterly, Vol. 15. |
| Stulpnagel, C.R. | 1879 | <i>Polyandry in the Himalayas</i> , Indian Evangelical Review, Vol. V. |
| Tambiah, S.J. | 1970 | <i>Buddhism and Spiti-cult in Northeast Thailand</i> , Cambridge. |
| Thornton, E | 1854 | <i>A Gazetteer of the Territories, under the the Government of the East India Company and the Native States on the Continent of India</i> , London. |
| Van Dersleen, W.G.H. | | <i>Four months Camping in the Himalayas.</i> Translated by M.W. Heper. |
| Virgheese, I. | 1969 | <i>Kota Polyandry : An Appraisal.</i> Journal of the Indian Anthropological Society. |
| Waddell, L.A. | 1899 | <i>Among the Himalayas</i> , London. |
| | 1959 | <i>The Buddhism in Tibet or Lamaism</i> , London. |

- | | | |
|-----------------|------|--|
| Westermarck, E. | 1921 | <i>The History of Human Marriage</i> , Vol. III, London. |
| Wilson, A. | 1876 | <i>The Abode of Snow</i> , London. |
| Wiser, W.H. | 1956 | <i>Hindu Jajmani system</i> , Lucknow. |
| Woodman, D. | 1964 | <i>Himalayan Frontiers</i> , London. |

THE KINNAURESE OF THE HIMALAYA

PLATE I



A Kinnauri belle



A Kinnauri shephard



A village with a fort

THE KINNAURESE OF THE HIMALAYA

PLATE II



Ploughing and sowing



Thrashing operation



In lavi fair at Rampur



Water-mill

THE KINNAURESE OF THE HIMALAYA

PLATE IV



House type (two sloped)



House type (flat lopped)



Bridal dress



Fort functionaries with ritual dress



Woman's dress



A Zomo

THE KINNAURESE OF THE HIMALAYA

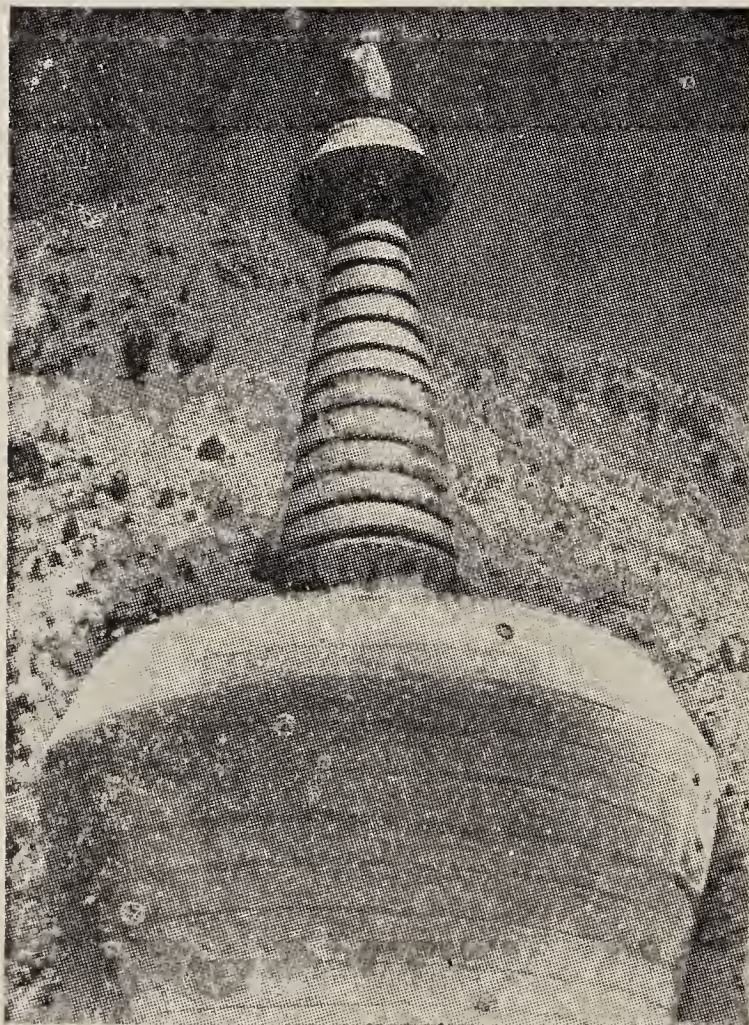
PLATE VI



A Kinnauri peasant



The monastery painting



The chorten



The temple



The Phulaich dance



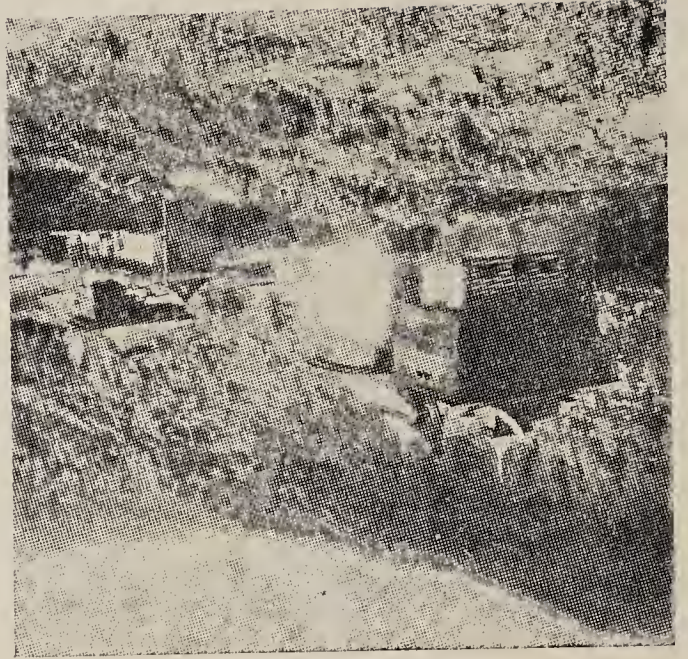
A Village halmandi

THE KINNAURESE OF THE HIMALAYA

PLATE VIII



*Durga temple constructed by
Border Roads Organisation*



Bhim Kali temple at Serahan



Temple at Rogi (for the Koli)



Temple at Rogi (for the Kanet)

THE KINNAURESE OF THE HIMALAYA

PLATE IX



A temple



A lama reads prayer book



Members of the Village Council



Kankani or Village gate

THE KINNAURESE OF THE HIMALAYA

PLATE X



Temple functionaries



A Polyandrous unit

